

The changing nature of female labour supply and its effect  
on the South African labour market

by

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## INTRODUCTION

### 1. HYPOTHESIS

Female labour supply is a function of demographic changes, schooling, marriage, fertility and the type of child care provided. Changes in any of these variables affect the nature of female labour supply.

### 2. METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

This study will examine relevant and available statistics so as to map out the patterns of female labour in South Africa since 1960. This will be undertaken with a view to identifying barriers to progress by women workers and assessing the likelihood that changing aspirations and attitudes will erode anomalies that currently exist in the labour market.

The study uses time-series data on the principal factors affecting female labour supply. Such time-series observations will provide reliable estimates of the effects of demographic factors, education, incomes, marriage and fertility on female labour supply. These will assist in determining to what extent the supply elasticities might be positive or negative. The results and conclusions that emerge from this study will be used to formulate policy recommendations that may lead to a better allocation and use of resources in the South African economy.

### 3. SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING STATISTICAL DATA

#### 3.1 Population Data

South African population statistics have to be interpreted with great care because Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) states were excluded after independence. The geographical area covered by these statistics has thus become progressively smaller. Transkei was excluded in



1977, Bophuthatswana in 1978, Venda in 1980 and Ciskei since 1983. Ciskei was included in the 1980 census.

### 3.2. Labour Statistics

Labour statistics are fraught with conceptual and measurement problems. In South Africa official labour statistics have traditionally been regarded as unreliable. The inadequacies of efficient unemployment data have given rise to numerous estimates of unemployment. Such estimates, however, should also be interpreted with care since most of them cover Black unemployment only. Again the geographical coverage of labour statistics (for example estimates of the economically active population) is the same as that of the population.

### 3.3 Sources

Since 1960 official statistics have been published annually, in the middle of the year, by the Central Statistical Service in South African Statistics. Certain of these statistics are released in the P-series of Statistical News Release and published in the Bulletin of Statistics. The longer time series are published in South African Statistics. It is important to note that the geographical coverage of labour statistics has changed from time to time.

## 4. STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The role of women in labour market activities has been highlighted in the post World War II years. This area of labour market activity is very sensitive to economic and social pressures.

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one begins with a brief discussion of the evolution of female labour supply in Europe and South Africa, and then goes on to identify key variables and linkages in the supply function by examining the principal determinants of female labour supply.

Chapter two examines the population and supply of labour - the size and composition of the population, fertility rates and the age structure of the economically active population. Activity and participation rates and the reasons why they differ between the sexes and races are analysed.

Chapter three analyses the factors influencing changes in female labour participation, starting with two factors which influence both the quality and quantity of labour supply, namely migration and urbanisation, then going on to consider wage discrimination, discrimination in the distribution of fringe benefits, sexual harassment and the marital status of women coupled with their child bearing and child rearing duties.

Chapter four considers the occupational and skill structure of female labour supply. It considers the educational attainment, the distribution of skills, the changing occupational structure of female labour and reasons for the skewed distribution of the population according to occupation and the lack of vertical mobility.

Chapter five contains a summary of the findings and their implications for the future. It discusses the implications of future population growth, the nature of manpower shortages being currently experienced in the South African labour market and some future labour market policies and their implications.

## CHAPTER ONE

### PRINCIPAL DETERMINANTS OF FEMALE LABOUR SUPPLY

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The evolution of female labour supply is part of the overall economic development and growth in a country or region. In pre-industrial society the family was largely self-sufficient. The husband provided for the wife and children. The Industrial Revolution in the 1750s ushered in the notion of a woman working outside the home.

The women who worked in great numbers in nineteenth century Europe were overwhelmingly members of the working and peasant classes. They were young and single. The traditional role of a married woman was such that she joined the labour force when her earnings were needed by the household budget. When the income of her husband and children was sufficient for the family's needs, she left the labour force. She then constituted part of a reserve labour force.

Mothers would sometimes leave the labour force only after the youngest child went out to work. Mothers today tend to enter the labour force rather than leave it when their children become old enough to work. This important difference can be explained by changes in parent-child obligations over time. According to Scott and Tilly (1975: 24) 'in the 19th Century daughters worked in the interest of the family economy: as parents sent daughters off with traditional expectations, so the daughters attempted to fulfil them'.

After 1914, however, 'more and more single girls kept more and more of their wages, signifying the emergence of a new parental child relationship: this transformation involved the replacement of familial values with individualistic ones' (Scott and Tilly, 1975: 25). Individuals became more responsible to themselves than to a social or moral group.

In South Africa the development of the economy influenced the participation of women in labour market activities. Before 1870 the community was largely self-sufficient, with agricultural production the main activity. The role of a woman was limited to caring for her family. In 1870 the founding of the mining industry initiated the industrial era and led to the development of a transport and communications network. Later the development of secondary industries led to the creation of more work opportunities for women (van der Walt, 1986: 11).

The limitation on the importation of consumer goods during World War I led to more local businesses being formed. This, together with manpower shortages during the war, facilitated women's access to the labour market. The lack of work opportunities during the Depression of 1929-1933 resulted in the reservation of jobs for men since they were the traditional breadwinners of the family. In 1936 women constituted 17,8 per cent of the total economically active population (Wessels, 1981: 24).

During World War II women entered the labour market in large numbers because of labour shortages. World War II can be viewed as the biggest single stimulus to the employment of women in the formal labour market. Although companies originally put women into certain jobs because of a manpower shortage, they found that women possessed some special characteristics that rendered them better suited to certain tasks than men.

Also, according to van der Walt (1986: 4-11), World War II contributed to the scaling down of bias against women being employed outside the home since women in some instances performed well and held high posts. van der Walt (1986: 17) also explains the development of female labour in terms of the technological advances which took up an increasing supply of male workers. Scarcity of labour in areas like church work and expansion in other economic areas resulted

in labour shortages which had to be filled by women. The occupation by women of positions previously held by men and the creation of new posts enhanced women's work status.

Before considering the changing nature of female labour supply and its effect on the South African labour market, it is necessary to establish a theoretical basis. In the rest of this chapter an attempt is made to identify the key variables and linkages in the supply function by examining the principal determinants of labour supply.

## 1.2 A SURVEY OF THE DETERMINANTS OF FEMALE LABOUR SUPPLY

### 1.2.1 Theoretical Framework

The three basic theoretical approaches to the supply of labour identified by Brijlal (1990: 4-22) may be summarised as follows:

- i) The neo-classical approach emphasises the concept of utility maximisation by the supplier of labour. The quality and quantity of labour are explained with the help of the human capital theory, which maintains that education and training will guarantee higher earnings and reduce earnings differentials.
- ii) The structured labour market theories stress the segmentation of the labour market. It is important to gain access into the internal labour market and then to obtain upward mobility. General education is a necessary screening device for entry into the market, but on-the-job training is the key to providing the necessary quantity and quality of labour.
- iii) The radical approach, which is essentially a critique of the structured labour market, rejects

the importance of existing education and training practices in the capitalist economy as these produce a structured society that is used by capitalists to retain power and control. This approach proposes 'co-operative planning', but rejects centrally controlled planning as bureaucratic and authoritarian.

There is no distinct model of female labour supply per se. However, there are a number of phenomena such as marriage, the role of the family, the allocation of time, heterogeneity of jobs, human capital investment decisions and the occupational characteristics of labour supply that are important correlates of women's labour supply.

The aggregate supply of labour to a geographic area can be measured in terms of the labour force potential (size and composition of working-age population), participation rates, income, education and the availability of skills as determined by the structure of production. The long term aggregate supply of labour in general and of female labour in particular can be understood in terms of several factors. These include:

- population size, composition, and activity and participation rates;
- migration and urbanisation;
- wage rates;
- the household's decision-making process;
- married women;
- age profile of working women;
- fertility;
- education;
- occupational status of the husband;
- unemployment and female work seekers;
- wages of domestic help;
- discrimination.

### 1.2.2 Population Size, Composition, and Activity and Participation Rates

The size of the labour force of a country is a function of the size and composition of its population. Given a number of factors such as the school leaving age, the age structure of the population, the wage structure, labour legislation and the number of available jobs, there will be a certain proportion of the population who will be working or willing to work. In any age group the actual proportion that is economically active depends on the interaction of the above-mentioned and other factors. The distribution of the population is will determine the size of the dependent segment, that is those outside the working limit, especially below the school leaving age. This would be fairly large if the birth rate is high. The factors determining the size of the population are the birth rate, mortality rate and migration. Thus to estimate the size of the labour force at a certain time implicitly requires that estimates of the population be made (Terreblanche, 1981: 8).

### 1.2.3 Migration and Urbanisation

Given certain political and economic conditions, a certain percentage of people will always be willing to migrate. An important characteristic of modern economic development is that industrialisation and urbanisation are inseparable. Geographic mobility is an important factor affecting the level and pattern of labour force participation. Urbanisation is an inevitable phenomenon which occurs worldwide wherever there is a potential for socio-economic development. This type of migration is linked to changes in income, literacy and female participation in the labour market (all three of these being elements of socio-economic development).

Migration and urbanisation redistribute labour supply in an economy. The peculiar nature of South African urbanisation is discussed in Chapter two.

#### 1.2.4 Wage Rates

The neoclassical theory of labour supply serves as a point of departure (Cain, 1966: 3-5). The real wage is a key factor in the supply of labour. The amount of labour supplied is assumed to be positively related to the real wage so that an increase in the real wage results in an increase in the amount of labour supplied.

The real wage helps to determine which job to accept, and indeed whether to seek employment. If the real wage increases, housewives and others not usually in the labour force may decide to look for jobs. If they do, the quantity of labour supply increases in response to the higher real wage.

Conventional economic theory holds that a change in the wage rate would have both income and substitution effects on the quantity of labour supply. For males, non-labour-market work will be a negligible part of their activities. The opportunity cost of not working -the price of their leisure- will then be represented solely by the market wage rate. An increase in wages will have an income effect that is negative, since leisure is a superior good and high income implies that more of it will be bought or alternatively less time will be spent at work. The substitution effect of a wage increase will be positive since leisure time becomes more expensive relative to the alternative of work and less leisure would be purchased.

When we consider an analysis of the labour supply of married women, the assumption that market work is the main alternative to leisure is inappropriate since cultural and biological factors have made non-labour-market work the most important type of work for the wife over most of her married life. The market and home productivity and tastes of each family member, and family status, will determine the allocation of time to market work, home work and leisure among all family members.



Conventional theory implies that for the family a rise in income should reduce the work and increase the leisure of the family members. But while the husband reduces only his market work (on the assumption that he engages in no home work), the wife reduces her non-labour-market work as well. The income elasticities of market goods and home goods suggest that non-labour-market work should have declined more than market work over the long run.

The substitution effect should also be different for wives. In general, it will be small and the supply of labour inelastic if good substitutes for one's working time are lacking. The responsibilities of non-labour-market work are a more important substitute for a wife's time than that of other adults. For married women, then, we should expect a relatively high elasticity for their supply curve of labour and the substitution effect should be relatively large.

The generalisation that the substitution effect is large for wives and small for husbands is meant to apply to work choices in the context of a lifetime. At a particular moment in time the generalisation may not hold. When young children are present for example, the wife's time will not be easily substitutable for market work, given prevailing standards for the care of children. At other times, the presence of older children or other adults besides the husband and wife, who may be productive as either home or market workers, will influence the work decisions of the wife. An even more temporary event is the unemployment of the husband. This will tend to make non-labour-market work a meaningful alternative use for his time. Generally, the greater area of choice between work alternatives (home and work) for wives than for husbands implies a larger substitution effect for wives.

In assuming that the supply of labour is a function of the real wage, other factors are assumed constant. In the short term this may be justifiable, but in the long term it is

not. In the long term the household's demand for family income becomes a more important factor. Since we are dealing with the changing nature of aggregate female labour supply over a long period, the effect of wage rates on individuals will not be analysed.

#### 1.2.5 The Household's Decision-Making Process

Using a simple version of the general theory of choice, we can start with the premise that the household is the basic decision-making unit and that the labour force status of each member of the household is determined by some kind of decision-making process which takes into account the circumstances of other members. The total time of each member of the household is allocable between labour and other activities in uninformatly divisible units. The household's task then is to determine the number of hours each member of the household is to devote to labour market activity and to other pursuits, for example attending school and engaging in leisure.

This set of decisions can be thought of as determined by three broad classes of variables, that is

- i) tastes;
- ii) expected market and non-market earnings rate;
- iii) the household's total resource constraint.

In detail:

- i) Tastes are associated with such factors as the size of household, the relation between the household's permanent income and its expected current income; the amount of the household's fixed financial obligations; and the number of dependent children approaching college age. The age structure of the household members will determine dependency and potential labour supply. Education, marital status, mores, traditions and

social pressures also influence the taste for market work.

- ii) Labour force decisions of the household will be related to an expected market 'earnings' rate per hour of work for each member of the household. Earnings include the working conditions associated with the various possible jobs as well as the accompanying set of money wage rates and fringe benefits. Over the years as the general standard of living rose, as new products were introduced and as style of life changed, so the desire for income changed. Income earned by the working wife became a more obvious way of augmenting an inadequate level of family income.

The traditional theory of household behaviour provides the basis for analysing the effect of other family income (OFI), that is total family income less the earnings of the wife. It is expected that the labour supply will vary inversely with the amount of OFI. Furthermore, the tendency for the wife to work declines steadily as OFI rises. The participation rate of women with young children appears to be more sensitive to differences in the level of OFI than the participation rate of women without young children. Women with young children are likely to devote initial investments in family income to the purchase of their freedom from the labour market than are women without young children.

- iii) The total resources of the household is a function of:
- a) the total number of hours available to be allocated;
  - b) the set of prospective market and non-market earnings rate;

- c) whatever other income (gifts, earnings from previously accumulated assets, etc.) the household expects to receive during the period;
- d) the monetary value of the household's saleable assets.

The number of potential earners in the household serves as a measure of the total resources at the disposal of the household. Other things being equal, the greater the household's resources, the greater its potential income, the more leisure it can afford and the lower the level of its labour force participation. Expected market and non-market earnings rates are thus important determinants of the household's real income. The greater the non-labour income (other income) and the greater the net assets of a household, the more leisure they can afford and the lower will be the share of time devoted to labour supply (Cain, 1966: 1-2).

#### 1.2.6 Married Women

The substantial increase in the labour force participation of women is a striking feature of the labour markets of the developed economies in the twentieth century. Most of the increase in the aggregate female participation rate in recent years is attributable to an increase in the participation of married women, although the participation of married women remains lower than that of other women (Ashenfelter and Layard, 1980: 16).

The income earned by the wife may make it possible to satisfy certain indispensable economic needs, like buying a car or other durable goods. Furthermore, technological developments have influenced the traditional female role. Through technological progress the undertaking of women's home work takes less time. Also the attitude of the

community regarding the general desirability of female labour force participation has changed. People accept the idea of married women working outside the home, especially if the work goals can be defined in an acceptable fashion (as real familial goals, for example such as raising the family's standard of living). Today it is common for young men to proceed with their studies while being supported by their working wives and not their parents.

The increase in labour market activities of married women, especially after World War II, was the result of the transformation of the family economy. Wives went to work to replace the income which their offspring no longer provided. Women also began to bear fewer children (especially in an urban milieu), lived longer and bore their last child earlier. The family income was reduced not only because of fewer children but also over a longer period of life. Under these conditions, working for wages became more practical and sometimes more pressing (Scott and Tilley, 1975: 91).

Marriage affects the certainty of occupational involvement. Traditional marital ages coincide with the years spent at university while preparing for a profession. The unclear role expectations and uncertainty about the future can affect the self-concept and achievements of young women. Marital ambition may also affect women's motivation to pursue professional training or to continue to achieve in a professional career which requires personal dedication and a potential long term involvement (van Rooyen, 1980: 3-4). Marriage by implication includes the possible discontinuation of work involvement for longer or shorter periods of a woman's adult life. Many employers have interpreted this discontinuity as a lack of commitment. They therefore prefer employing males in senior positions.

It is assumed that the average South African girl, who marries today in her early twenties and goes on to raise a family, will nevertheless spend twenty-five years of her life in paid employment after her children are grown up.

However, in our culture marriage is still seen as an important aspect of every woman's life, and the role of homemaker forms part of the future perspective of most women (Swanepoel, 1982: 53).

Child bearing and child rearing inhibit women's employment, making specific demands on women's time and physical strength, and contributing to the stereotyped view of women as temporarily in the work-force, as less work-dependable than men from higher levels of absenteeism and labour turnover, and as less interested in long-term career planning (van Rooyen: 1980: 2-3).

For married women, the age of their children is a major influence in deciding whether to supply labour. Firstly, pre-school children (aged under 6) require more care than older children. Secondly, the labour supply of women with children aged 6 to 13 years can be expected to be lower than that for women who have only children aged between 14 and 17 years. Children in this 'middle' age range seem to inhibit labour supply to some point, but not nearly as much as the presence of children of pre-school age. Thirdly, women who only have children aged between 14 and 17 years can be expected to provide a slightly labour supply than women with no children at all, because the former need to supplement the family income to support their children. The presence of older children may encourage mothers to enter the labour force through assistance with home tasks.

Mothers are faced with the decision of whether to work part time or full time. Unwillingness to do full-time work result mainly from a woman's dual role of housewife and working or professional woman. The fact that their children are properly cared for at home/crèche, nursery schools or after school study centre is an important consideration. In the last two decades such institutions have come to play an important part in the lives of working mothers. Married women will more likely enter the labour force if child care facilities exist.

Women, in accepting the dual roles of working and marriage, experience different lifestyle and demands from those of married working men (van Rooyen, 1980: 4). The motivation of women to succeed at responsible work can be affected by the need to meet their dual role commitments and to resolve conflicts between personal needs and ascribed role demands.

Coetzee (1977: 26) states that women's future objectives cannot be separated from their biological roles. An acceptable handling of the dual role depends on the perception of those who judge it, namely herself, her family, her husband, the employer and the community. Gerdes (1979: 21) believes that the guilt feelings of married women are one of the factors that undermine their self-confidence.

However, working women want the satisfaction of realising certain psychological needs like self-independence and self-fulfilment in the work environment. This is especially important for women with considerable formal education since they are likely to attach a high value to the social interactions and sense of professional accomplishment which labour market activities offer. This has undoubtedly increased labour market commitment and participation.

#### 1.2.7 Age Profile of Working Women

Age has an important bearing on a woman's labour supply decisions. According to Ashenfelter and Layard (1980: 130-134) the 'pure' age profile for all working women is a relatively smooth curve having the general shape of an inverted 'U'. It is expected that labour supply will peak in the 35-54 age range, and from the age of 54 onwards labour supply will start to decline as most women begin to retire from the labour force.

The participation rates of young women (under 20) can be expected to be very low because of:

- the generally greater difficulty which teenagers encounter in finding jobs as a consequence of limited experience;
- a tendency for some newly married women to believe that their husbands will earn enough to satisfy their needs;
- the willingness of some parents to help support newly married couples;
- the fact that a relatively larger proportion of teenage women are likely to have very young children (or to be pregnant);
- the likelihood that many women who marry in their teens will have a relatively stronger taste for 'home-goods' as opposed to the returns (pecuniary and psychic) from work in the labour market.

These findings are regarded as a good representation of the relation not just between age and participation but also between age and the total amount of labour supplied by women.

We can compare profiles for women with and without children under 6. The labour supply for women with no children under 6 is significantly related to age - it peaks in the 25-29 age category and declines steadily thereafter. In the case of married women with children under 6, there is no systematic relation between age and labour supply. There is actually some tendency for participation rates for women with children under 6 to reach their highest point in the 50-54 age category, where the rate for women with no children under 6 reaches its lowest. This is because families with children under 6 by definition have financial responsibilities for these pre-school children. Furthermore, most of the women in the 45-49 age bracket with children under 6 also have older children to support. Thus,



the greater financial responsibility combines with somewhat lower other family income to put pressure on women with children under 6 to continue to participate in the labour force in these ages at which many other married women are retiring to the home.

#### 1.2.8 Fertility

In recent years there has been an upsurge of interest in the two related phenomena of the role and status of women and population growth (and particularly in female economic activity on the one hand and fertility on the other). This interest has extended to countries with high and low income levels and of high and low fertility rates. Fertility levels and female participation in the labour force are interrelated since they represent conflicting uses of women's time. When women stay at home and care for their children, they forgo the income they would receive from a job away from home. By providing income, a job 'helps to liberate women from a traditional lifestyle by giving them greater economic independence, a greater feeling of self and a non-traditional perspective on life' (Bodrova and Anker, 1985: 15).

In most developed countries the greatly increased economic activity of women has played an important role in the general reduction of fertility. The decreasing trend in the fertility of married women is indicated by the fact that the average number of children born to all married women is somewhat less than three. Thus, in the continually growing group of economically active women an increasing proportion is adopting the 'two child family model' (Bodrova and Anker, 1985: 16).

The comparison of employed and dependent married women of child bearing age with the same number of children shows that the obligation to educate three or more children makes the mother think carefully about whether to take a job or not, and conversely that women who are working avoid giving

birth to a third child. Consequently, among dependent married women, the proportion of women with three or more children is much higher than among those who are employed.

#### 1.2.9 Education

Productive skills and potential lifetime earnings of workers can be increased through formal education and on-the-job training. The concept of human capital is well known and analysis of literature on this subject shows that investment in education has almost exclusively been evaluated in terms of education of males. The probability of marriage and expected family commitments of women has resulted in researchers neglecting the analyses of women's education as a form of investment (van Rooyen, 1980: 1). The lack of evaluation of women as human capital is not because of less involvement by women. More recently, however, the need for economic growth has contributed to increased labour participation by women. This increase, experienced worldwide, has involved women of all educational levels, skilled and unskilled, married and unmarried (van Rooyen, 1980: 2).

Although education has various private and social benefits, the argument largely hinges on whether, or to what extent, education increases the probability that women will enter or remain in the labour force, by that means contributing to economic growth. This raises two questions:

- i) What is the relation between education and the probability of labour force participation?
- ii) What are the factors most conducive to a positive relationship?

The 'human capital' school of thought has depicted education as a process of investment from which returns accrue to both society and the individual concerned. There are several convincing reasons for expecting a positive association

between the years of school completed by women and their decision to offer labour:

- Additional years of schooling increase a woman's expected market earnings and thus encourage her to substitute time in the labour market for time she might otherwise have spent in other activities;
- Psychic income may be at least as important to some women as money income and the level of education a woman has had affects her access to cleaner, more pleasant and interesting jobs;
- Years of schooling completed may serve to develop underlying tastes for market work and natural aptitudes for employment;
- Schooling itself probably increases the typical woman's taste for market work, especially in relation to the alternative of staying at home and doing housework.

There is a positive relation between schooling and labour supply partly because schooling presumably increases a woman's potential market wage (relative to her imputed home wage) and partly because of a variety of non-pecuniary considerations. Furthermore the increase in the educational attainment of women will manifest itself as a source of high-level manpower for the economy.

Thus the direct positive influence of education on the propensity to participate in the labour market exists partly because education enhances employment opportunities. It also raises income aspirations, generally raises the opportunity costs of inactivity and weakens the restricting power of cultural norms that limit non-domestic activities.

Education also has several indirect positive effects; for example, it tends to have a strong negative effect on the

number of children women want to have and may lead not only to later marriage but to postponement of the period of child bearing. These changes in themselves tend to increase female participation in the labour force and job commitment. To the extent that participation is encouraged in the period following school, women become oriented to labour force activity, and research in several industrialised countries has shown that economic activity during this period is a major determinant of participation at any subsequent time of life (Bodrova and Anker, 1985: 26-29).

#### 1.2.10 Occupational Status of the Husband

The general employment status of the husband influences the labour force status of the wife. Studies conducted in the 1970s showed that wives of professional/technical workers were found to have the lowest participation rate of any group of wives classified according to occupation of the husband. Two possible explanations for the low participation rates were suggested:

- i) It could be that the wives of such men devote more of their time to community affairs and social activities and thus are less able to seek paying jobs.
- ii) The participation of the wife may be inversely related not only to the current level of OFI but also to the expected growth of OFI over time - a factor which is probably related to occupation of the husband. Professional and managerial trades are clearly superior in this respect to the other occupational categories. Another way of saying this is that the occupation of the husband may be serving as a proxy for permanent income.

Differences in rates of participation are also deeply rooted in sociological factors -for example there is some correlation between the husband's educational attainment and his willingness to let his wife work.

### 1.2.11 Unemployment and Female Work Seekers

Local labour market conditions also influence labour force decisions. The decisions of single women, however, tend to be considerably less sensitive to labour market conditions than the decisions of married women. Many single women have no real alternative source of income or implicit 'house wage' and therefore there should be a smaller number of single women whose decisions are influenced by any given change in labour market conditions.

The employment rate measures job opportunity in general and other variables such as type of industry and supply of females measure the characteristics of the labour market which are directly related to employment opportunities for females.

The employment status of the husband enables us to test directly the basic premise of the additional-worker hypothesis, namely that a wife is more likely to be in the labour force if her husband is unemployed than if he is working. This understandable response to economic adversity and the controversy surrounding it goes back to the late 1930s and centres not on whether such a response exists, but on how large it is in comparison to the discouraged-worker effect, that is the reluctance of some wives to look for work when jobs are hard to find.

As a general rule, families in which the husband is unemployed at any time are likely to have a lower level of income than families in which the husband has a job. The added-worker effect is therefore expected to be particularly pronounced among women with young children because:

- A special intra-household substitution effect, whereby the unemployed husband performs household chores while the wife works, operates with greater force in the case of families with young children than in the case of other families;

- Wives with young children are themselves younger than other wives and thus it may be easier for them to find jobs;
- The lower average wage of wives with young children suggests that their families tend to have less savings to fall back on.

Turning to the relation between female unemployment and job searching, we expect that the decline in the sensitivity of participation to unemployment which occurs as we move up age groups from 19-29 to the 30-34 is simply another manifestation of the greater importance of labour conditions to women who are entering the labour force than to women who are already employed. This is so because many of the women in the age range 40-45 who are in the labour force must be re-entrants. Therefore it is hardly surprising that participation rates for this age group are quite sensitive to local market conditions. It is possible that married women of 40 years of age and over who are laid off in the wake of general economic adversity are more likely to drop out of the labour force than their younger counterparts partly because those who are 40 and over may have more difficulty becoming re-employed and partly because more of them may be in the labour force on a relatively more discretionary basis than their younger counterparts.

#### 1.2.12 Wages of Domestic Help

The variable of the supply and wages of domestic help has special relevance to married women and to single women living on their own. The reason why this factor ought to affect the participation decision of married women is that one of the opportunity costs borne by a wife who takes a market job is that she has less time and energy for household duties.

One way of solving this problem is to hire someone full time or part time to do the household chores. This is not a costless solution and whether it is better than the alternatives (not taking the market job, trying to do both kinds of work herself, or drafting other family members into domestic service) depends in part on the price of outside help. There ought therefore to be an inverse relation between the going wage paid for domestic help and the labour supply rate of especially married women and single women.

Differences in the wages of domestic help are not in themselves attributable to differences in the demand for such help by working wives. But, where this is the case, the relation between these wages and participation might well be positive since the demand for domestic help will presumably be greater where more women elect to work.

A more important qualification to our basic expectation - that there should be an inverse relation between wife's a participation and the wages of private household workers - is that it is almost surely applicable to Blacks and other disadvantaged minority groups since domestic service constitutes such an important source of employment opportunities for women in these groups and since so few of these wives are themselves potential employers of domestic help.

At the bottom of the age scale, we expect that differences in the wages of domestics may not have any effect on the participation of married women aged 14-19. This makes sense, given the exceedingly small number of teenage wives who are likely to consider hiring domestic help. Teenage wives are after all just beginning their marital careers. They are apt to have impecunious husbands, relatively small homes and few, if any, children to take care of and an above-average amount of energy, all of which serve to discourage the employment of domestic help, even if the wife contemplates entering the labour force.

As we move up the age scale, the relation between wages of domestics and participation should become significant in that it should hold increasingly to the 35-39 age level and then less so thereafter. This is explainable primarily in terms of associations between the wage of the wife, her need for domestic help (which is in turn a function of the size of her home and the extent of her family responsibility) and her family's ability to pay for domestic help.

The demands of home tasks on the wife's time have also been eased by the shift of many tasks once performed within the home to the market sector. These include the increasing use of (partially) prepared foods, especially frozen, and the appearance of large numbers of take-away food services, laundries, beauty salons and day-care centres. Historically, the decreasing self-sufficiency of the family as an economic unit has unquestionably enabled wives to participate in the labour force (Ashenfelter and Layard, 1980: 140-149).

#### 1.2.13 Discrimination

Large numbers of women have over many years entered the male-dominated world of work and it is generally accepted that the South African economy can no longer function effectively without the contribution made by women. At the same time awareness continues to grow of the need to eliminate all forms of discrimination (both direct and indirect) against women in the job market and to improve their overall economic and social status for the benefit of society as a whole. The International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 11 of 1958 defines of discrimination as 'any distribution, exclusion or preferences made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, nation extraction or social origin, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or occupation' (Brehm, 1989: 4).



Traditionally certain jobs performed by women, for example sewing in the textile industry, have been undervalued and consequently underpaid. Furthermore, women are clustered in the food, clothing and textile industries, which have consistently lower rates of pay than other industries.

It is extremely important to know how, in any organization, women compare with men in the following categories:

- level of job;
- areas of employment;
- educational achievement;
- tenure;
- salary;
- promotional opportunities;
- medical aid;
- pension benefits;
- subsidies;
- attrition.

Women have also been discriminated against in terms of inadequate maternity benefits. Discrimination also exists in the kinds of work men and women do. Women have traditionally been channelled into certain areas and 'protected' from the stressful or dirty positions. This chivalry has worked more against women than for them. Not only do these 'unfeminine' jobs often pay well, but they also offer more upward mobility. Unless a woman has worked in the 'dirty' areas of a plant, for instance, she can never be a plant manager. In many companies, unless she has aggressively knocked on doors as a sales representative, she cannot qualify for the more responsible and rewarding positions.

Then there is the question of job development. Many training programmes and job arrangements in a company are traditionally, and often unconsciously, intended 'for men only'. Some companies rationalise that it is not worth the effort to develop a young woman's potential because 'after

all she'll leave after a couple of years to get married' (Erwee, 1989: 123). It is generally true that women's attrition rate is higher than men's. Attrition higher in low-level jobs, and that is where most women are. Also, a recent university study indicates that many women rush into marriage simply because they are unhappy and frustrated in their jobs.

Women are further subjected to sexual harassment, which until recently has been a low priority subject. However, as a result of increasing occurrence, this phenomenon has attracted more attention. In November 1980 the Equal Employment and Opportunity Commission (EEOC) adopted its final guidelines for employers to deal with the problem. The new guidelines define sexual harassment as 'unwelcome advances, requests for sexual favours, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature that takes place under any of the following circumstances:

- i) When submission to the sexual advance is a condition of keeping or getting a job, whether expressed in explicit or implicit terms;
- ii) When a superior or boss makes a personnel decision based on an employee's submission to or rejection of sexual advances;
- iii) When sexual conduct unreasonably interferes with a person's work performance or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment.'

According to the EEOC, employers have an affirmative duty to prevent and eliminate sexual harassment (Prekel, 1986b: 49).

### 1.3 CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

The evolution of female labour supply shows that traditionally women have been regarded as part of a reserve

labour force and that they went out to work only when need required it. The increasing tendency for women to work is no doubt in large measures due to the following factors: the transfer of certain production activities from home to market, the growth of employment opportunities for women, the importance of real wages that women can earn in the marketplace and the erosion of prejudices against women's working.

Married women's labour supply is further influenced by child bearing, child rearing, the age of her children and the availability of child care facilities. Education is an important determinant of a woman's decision to work. She is more likely to be employed in the labour market if she has achieved a high level of professional training. Sexual discrimination has hindered the promotion of women, especially married women.

The changing nature of female labour supply in South Africa will be analysed in the light of the foregoing discussion. In Chapter two we discuss changing trends in population growth and female labour supply, in Chapter three the statistical evidence concerning factors influencing changes in female participation, in Chapter four the changing occupational and skills structure of female labour supply and in Chapter five the implications of the findings.

## CHAPTER TWO

### POPULATION GROWTH AND THE SUPPLY OF LABOUR

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Given the host of different factors, for example the availability of job opportunities and the educational system, a certain percentage of the population will always be working or willing and able to work. Changes in the labour force will reflect the changing size and composition of the population. In Section 1.2.2 of Chapter one this was identified as a determinant of labour supply.

Demographic trends and changes in the age structure of the population are reflected in the changes in the labour potential. Activity and participation rates reflect the changing nature of the working population.

#### 2.2 THE SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

The demographic information as presented in this section consists of published data from the Central Statistical Services data reconstructed by the Mostert, van Tonder and Hofmeyr (1988: 48-54) for the period 1935 to 1985. The latter data include the reconstruction of age structures from the censuses of 1946 to 1985, of birth statistics among the three non-Black population groups from 1945 to 1985 and of fertility trends among Blacks from 1935 to 1985.

The most noteworthy feature of the South African population is its heterogeneity. Of the 23 million of population in 1985, Blacks comprised 64,8 per cent, Whites 19,5 per cent, Coloureds 12,2 per cent and Asians 3,5 per cent.

TABLE 2.1: POPULATION AT EACH CENSUS  
(000's)

YEAR		TOTAL	WHITES	COLOURED	ASIANS	BLACKS
1960	Total	16 002	3 088	1 509	477	10 928
	Male	8 044	1 539	751	242	5 512
	Female	7 958	1 549	758	235	5 416
1970	Total	21 794	3 773	2 051	630	15 340
	Male	10 747	1 882	1 008	314	7 543
	Female	11 047	1 891	1 043	316	7 797
1980	Total	25 016	4 551	2 624	819	17 022
	Male	12 720	2 268	1 293	407	8 752
	Female	12 296	2 283	1 331	412	8 270
1985	Total	23 387	4 569	2 833	822	15 163
	Male	11 546	2 252	1 373	402	7 509
	Female	11 841	2 317	1 455	420	7 654

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1989.

From Table 2.2, it is evident that the average annual growth rate of the total South African population peaked in 1965-1970.

TABLE 2.2: AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATES

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	ASIANS	WHITES	COLOURED	BLACKS
1945-1950	2,35	3,40	2,22	2,53	2,32
1950-1955	2,44	3,29	1,86	2,89	2,51
1955-1960	2,85	3,12	1,77	3,17	3,08
1960-1965	2,86	2,84	2,02	3,19	3,02
1965-1970	2,87	2,58	2,31	2,81	3,02
1970-1975	2,72	2,34	1,96	2,43	2,95
1975-1980	2,54	1,94	1,17	1,92	2,93
1980-1985	2,67	1,84	1,42	1,84	3,04

Source: Mostert, van Tonder & Hofmeyer, 1988.

Regarding the growth rates of the different population groups we notice that:

- The annual growth rate for Asians declined after World War II from 3,4 per cent to 1,84 per cent between 1980 and 1985;
- The annual growth rate for Coloureds, however, rose considerably from 2,53 per cent between 1945 and 1950 to 3,19 per cent between 1960 and 1965. Thereafter it declined rapidly to reach the same level of 1,84 per cent that occurred among Asians;
- Among the Black population the average annual growth rate of 2,32 per cent between 1945 and 1950 was lower than that of the Asian and Coloured population. It peaked at 3,8 per cent between 1955 and 1960. Thereafter, a slight decline to 2,93 per cent occurred between 1975 and 1980,

while for the period 1980 to 1985 an increase to 3,4 per cent occurred;

- The average yearly growth rate for the White population fluctuated considerably and declined sharply during the last two decades to the lowest among all four population groups (1,42 per cent between 1980 and 1985).

It is evident that the tempo of growth of the three Black population groups declined considerably during the two decades before 1985, while the growth rate for the Black population showed little change and even a recent increase. In the poorer and rural areas, these groups tend to have large families. It is important to emphasise that Black South Africans do not have such high growth rates 'because they are Black'. Rather the statistics reflect differences in class, geography, historical sequence of economic development and demographic transition, all of which have been influenced by political inequalities.

If we examine female population trends in Table 2.1, we notice that the largest increase occurred between 1960 and 1970 (3 089 000), followed by a second increase between 1970 and 1980 (1 249 000) and a decrease between 1980 and 1985 (455 000). Black females constituted 77,1 per cent of the 1960-1970 increase, Whites 11,1 per cent, Coloureds 9,2 per cent and Asians 2,6 per cent. Of the second increase, Blacks again constituted the largest proportion (37,9 per cent) but this was substantially smaller than that of the previous decade. White and Coloured females, however, contributed larger increases than before namely 31,4 per cent and 23 per cent respectively. Asian females made up 7,7 per cent of the increase, almost double that of the previous decade. During the 1980-1985 period the Black female population fell by 7,4 per cent, the White female population showed a meagre increase of 1,5 per cent, the Coloured female population showed an increase of 9,3 per cent while the Asian female population showed the highest increase of 15,3 per cent.

If we examine the composition of the total population, we notice that females constituted 49,8 per cent in 1960, 50,7 per cent in 1970, 49,2 per cent in 1980 and 50,6 per cent in 1985. The distribution between the sexes of the different population groups has been in the region of 50 per cent.

The effect of differentials in birth rates and rates of natural increase between the White and non-White communities is that members of the former are much older than of the latter. However, South Africa has an extremely youthful population by world standards. The world averages are such that the segment of the total population that is in the age group 0-14 years is 33 per cent. In South Africa 23 per cent of Whites, 31 per cent of Asians, 34 per cent of Coloureds and 42 per cent of Blacks fall into the 0-14 age group. Furthermore, over a third of the Black population are 28 years or older (Urban Foundation, 1989: 13).

### 2.3 FERTILITY TRENDS AND POPULATION GROWTH

The fertility decline among Whites commenced in the nineteenth century. By 1910 the total fertility ratio (TFR, is the average number of children per woman) was 4,45 per cent and gradually declined to a low of 2,9 per cent in 1934. In the 1960s the first of two sharp declines in fertility among Whites occurred before stabilising for a decade at a level of about 3 per cent. In 1973 the TFR was still 2,82 per cent, but in 1977 the second sharp decline occurred when it dropped to below replacement level (2,9 per cent). Since then the TFR has been fluctuating just below the replacement level (Mostert, van Tonder and Hofmeyr, 1988: 69-70).

For the Asian population, the TFR fluctuated around 7 per cent during the late 1930s and the early 1940s. It dropped sharply to reach a low of 2,61 per cent in 1979.



For the Coloured population, the TFR was lower than for Asians during the 1930s and 1940s and hovered around 6 per cent. It subsequently rose to reach 6,72 per cent in 1960 and since then, as for Asians, dropped sharply to 2,89 per cent in 1984. The Asian fertility decline commenced about two decades before that of Coloureds.

It is estimated that until the mid-1960s the Black population's TFR was maintained at a level of about 6,8 per cent. After that it gradually started to decline to reach about 5,5 per cent by 1985. Although it started about two decades ago among the Black population, the fertility rate decline was very slow.

Mostert, van Tonder and Hofmeyr (1988: 71) attribute the decline of fertility among the non-Black population to the following three important factors:

- increasing urbanisation;
- rising marriage age;
- the general availability and acceptance of modern contraception.

A rise in the marriage age of females has played an important role in the declining fertility rate.

The implication of declining birth rates is that women can re-enter the labour market at an earlier age if they so wish because of fewer years spent in child bearing. Also, an expected lower White population creates further opportunities for the other population groups, and White women can expect competition for opportunities in lower-level jobs. Furthermore, one might assume that the high fertility rate among the Black population will serve to deter women from labour force participation. This will not be the case since in the long term the demand for family income is a more important consideration. Consequently one can expect more demand for child care facilities among the Black community than among the other three population groups.

#### 2.4 THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE FEMALE POPULATION

The White population's advanced age structure is also evident from Table 2.3. In 1960 31,9 per cent of females were in the 0-14 age group. In 1985 the proportion fell to a low of 25,6 per cent. A similar trend is apparent for Coloureds and Asians although the decline was not as pronounced, namely, from 45 per cent to 34,8 per cent for Coloureds, and from 45 per cent to 33 per cent for Asians. For the Black population the percentage of females in this age group declined from 41,8 per cent in 1960 to 37,3 per cent in 1985, but the trend differed from that in the other three population groups in that there was an increase between 1960 and 1970, the population undergoing some demographic juvenescence. In 1980 this cohort stabilised to 1960 levels and subsequently began to decline.

The effect of the decrease of people in the dependent years (0-14 years) meant that the number of people in the economically beneficial phase (15-64 years) or the potential labour supply had been increasing since 1960 for all population groups. The largest increase occurred among Asians, whose levels reached that of the Whites in 1985, followed by that of Coloureds. However, Black females constituted the smallest proportion of the potential labour force over the whole period. Section 2.6 examines the age structure of the potential female labour force.

TABLE 2.3: AGE STRUCTURE OF FEMALE POPULATION

AGE GROUP	1960				1970			
	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS
0-4	11,4	17,7	15,3	16,0	10,6	16,7	14,8	15,5
5-14	20,5	27,3	29,7	25,8	19,9	28,8	26,4	27,3
15-64	60,6	51,5	53,8	54,4	61,8	51,2	57,2	53,1
65+	7,5	3,5	1,2	3,8	7,7	3,3	1,6	4,1
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

AGE GROUP	1980				1985			
	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS
0-4	8,4	12,6	12,4	16,0	8,2	11,6	10,4	12,5
5-14	18,6	25,9	24,5	25,3	17,4	23,2	22,6	24,8
15-64	63,9	57,9	60,6	55,1	64,5	61,4	64,1	58,1
65+	9,1	3,6	2,5	3,6	9,9	3,8	2,9	4,6
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Mostert, van Tonder &amp; Hofmeyer, 1988.

## 2.5 THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION

### 2.5.1 Introduction

In discussing the manpower of South Africa, terms such as economically active population, high level manpower (HLM), middle level manpower (MLM), unemployed, workers, participation rate and activity rate are generally used. For the sake of clarity these terms will be defined.

- i) At a national level the term manpower is synonymous with the term labour force, which is the total number of people working or willing to work, also known as the economically active population. The economically active population therefore comprises workers and the unemployed:
  - Workers are defined as persons carrying out an occupation at the time of the survey;
  - The unemployed are all persons over a specified age who during the reference period were without employment, were available for employment during that period, and had taken active steps to find employment during a specified recent period.
- ii) High-level manpower (HLM) are occupations requiring at least two years post-matriculation training or education. They include all professional and semi-professional occupations, and managerial and technical manpower.
- iii) Middle-level manpower (MLM) are all occupations requiring training in or outside the occupation. In most cases the minimum entry requirement for such training is standard 8.

- iv) The participation rate is the economically active population as a percentage of the labour potential as determined by legal age limits. For White and Coloured pupils school attendance is compulsory until the age of 16. For Asian pupils, until the age of 15. Compulsory education only applies to a minority of Black pupils.
- v) The activity rate is the proportion of the population that is economically active.

This terminology refers only to the formal sectors in the economy. The informal sector is excluded in the rest of the discussion from lack of statistics.

These terms enable us to estimate certain quantitative and qualitative aspects of the South African female labour force.

TABLE 2.4: TOTAL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION ACCORDING TO  
POPULATION GROUP AND SEX

POPULATION GROUP		1960			1970			1980			1985		
		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Whites	N	855 740	295 740	1 151 052	1 060 911	447 990	1 508 901	1 276 260	631 948	1 908 208	1 257 647	715 131	1 972 778
	%	74,3	25,7	100	70,3	29,7	100	66,9	33,1	100	63,8	36,2	100
Coloureds	N	375 868	178 071	553 939	463 821	252 391	716 212	573 529	356 351	929 880	659 967	462 026	1 121 993
	%	67,9	32,1	100	64,8	35,2	100	61,9	38,3	100	58,8	41,2	100
Asians	N	114 299	11 559	125 858	147 647	34 653	182 300	189 801	65 967	255 768	208 760	83 914	292 674
	%	90,8	9,2	100	81,0	19,0	100	74,2	25,8	100	71,3	28,7	100
Blacks	N	3 051 449	838 579	3 890 028	3 717 874	1 988 961	5 706 835	3 843 433	1 752 437	5 595 870	3 406 313	1 898 605	5 304 918
	%	78,4	21,6	100	65,1	34,9	100	68,9	31,3	100	64,2	35,8	100
Total	N	4 396 928	1 323 949	5 720 877	5 390 253	2 723 995	8 114 248	5 883 023	2 806 703	8 689 726	5 532 687	3 159 676	8 692 363
	%	76,9	23,1	100	66,4	33,6	100	67,7	32,3	100	63,6	36,4	100

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1988.

#### 2.5.2. The Size of The Economically Active Population

The proportion of economically active women in the labour force has increased from 23,1 per cent in 1960 to 32,3 per cent in 1980 and to 36,4 per cent in 1985 (Table 2.4). In 1989 females constituted approximately 40 per cent of the total labour force. This means a doubling in the proportion of economically active females in the last fifty years. The most striking feature of the 1960-1985 period is that the proportion of Asian females were are economically active increased by 212 per cent as against 65,7 per cent of Black women, 40,8 per cent of White women and 28,3 per cent of Coloured women. This is consistent with our finding of a decrease in the total Black female population during 1980-1985. In 1980 there was a small decrease in the number of Black economically active females while the rest of the population groups showed increases over the whole period. The sharp increase in the percentage of Asian females is due to the emancipation of Asian females and the greater availability of career opportunities from 1970 onwards. In 1985, Coloured females constituted the highest proportion of economically active females, namely 41,2 per cent. They were followed by White females at 36,2 per cent and then Blacks at 35,8 per cent.

Table 2.5 to some extent shows that the tendency of females in South Africa to participate in the economy is similar to Western countries. South Africa compared favourably with these countries in 1970, but the female labour force declined in the latter half of the 1970s to be the lowest of all the countries. Also in other countries female labour market participation shows an increasing tendency. However, in South Africa, the figure of 32 per cent in 1981 was actually lower than the 34 per cent in 1970.

The economically active population comprises workers and unemployed. The potential labour force (or labour potential) is made up of persons of legal working age. In South Africa this is between 15 and 64 years of age.

TABLE 2.5: PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE TOTAL LABOUR FORCE

COUNTRY	YEAR		
	1970	1979	1981
	%	%	%
Sweden	29	44	46
United States	38	42	43
United Kingdom	36	39	40
Canada	32	39	40
West Germany	36	38	N/A
Belgium	30	36	N/A
Israel	30	35	36
Italy	27	27	32
South Africa	34	32	32

Source: Institute of Personnel Management, 1989.c

Tables 2.6 and 2.7 give the economically active population according to work status, population group and sex for 1970 and 1980, from which we see that in 1970 the proportion of economically active population in actual employment was 97,3 per cent and that 95,5 per cent of economically active females were employed. The year 1970 was part of the golden era of the South African economy. In 1980 the total proportion fell to 93,4 per cent, whilst only 88,9 per cent of economically active females were employed.



TABLE 2.6: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION ACCORDING TO WORK  
STATUS, POPULATION GROUP AND SEX IN 1970

1970

WORK STATUS		TOTAL		WHITES		COLOURED		ASIANS		BLACKS	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Employer	T	560 354	6,9	171 558	11,4	13 677	1,9	17 129	9,4	357 990	6,2
	M	508 119	9,4	155 995	14,9	12 581	2,7	15 831	10,7	323 712	8,7
	F	52 235	1,9	15 563	3,5	1 096	0,4	1 298	3,7	34 278	1,7
Employee	T	7 336 432	90,4	1 332 576	88,3	690 724	96,4	162 560	89,2	5 150 572	90,3
	M	4 787 349	88,8	901 642	85,0	444 798	96,0	129 772	87,9	3 311 137	89,1
	F	2 549 083	93,6	430 934	96,2	245 926	97,4	32 788	94,7	1 839 435	92,5
Unemployed	T	217 462	2,7	4 767	0,3	11 811	1,6	2 611	1,4	198 273	3,5
	M	94 785	1,8	3 274	0,3	6 492	1,3	2 044	1,4	83 025	2,2
	F	122 677	4,5	1 493	0,3	5 369	2,2	567	1,6	115 248	5,8
Total	T	8 114 248	100	1 508 901	100	716 212	100	182 300	100	5 706 835	100
Economically	M	5 390 253	100	1 060 911	100	463 821	100	147 647	100	3 717 874	100
Active	F	2 723 995	100	447 990	100	252 391	100	346 653	100	1 988 961	100

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1988.

TABLE 2.7: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION ACCORDING TO WORK  
STATUS, POPULATION GROUP AND SEX IN 1980

WORK STATUS		TOTAL		WHITES		COLOURED		ASIANS		BLACKS	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Employer	T	350 989	4,0	206 016	10,8	12 443	1,3	22 087	8,6	110 443	2,0
	M	286 955	4,9	180 096	14,1	11 225	2,1	20 184	10,6	75 450	2,0
	F	64 034	2,3	25 920	4,1	1 218	0,3	1 903	2,9	34 993	2,0
Employee	T	7 761 589	89,4	1 691 557	88,6	858 454	92,3	225 215	88,1	4 986 363	89,1
	M	5 331 171	90,6	1 090 188	85,4	537 878	93,8	163 440	86,3	3 539 365	92,1
	F	2 430 418	86,6	601 369	95,2	320 576	90,1	61 475	93,2	1 446 998	82,6
Unemployed	T	577 142	6,6	10 635	0,6	58 983	6,4	8 466	3,3	499 064	8,9
	M	264 891	4,5	5 976	0,5	24 426	4,3	5 871	3,1	228 618	5,9
	F	312 251	11,1	4 659	0,7	34 557	9,6	2 589	3,9	270 446	15,4
Total	T	8 689 726	100	1 908 208	100	929 880	100	255 768	100	5 595 870	100
Economically	M	5 883 023	100	1 276 260	100	573 529	100	189 801	100	3 843 433	100
Active	F	2 806 703	100	631 948	100	356 351	100	65 967	100	1 752 437	100

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1988.

TABLE 2.8: GROWTH RATES IN THE SA LABOUR FORCE, 1983 - 1985

POPULATION GROUP	MALE	FEMALE
White	1,6%	-0,7%
Coloured	-7,4%	0,2%
Asian	-3,3%	-3,9%
Black	-3,5%	2,1%

Source: Institute of Personnel Management, 1989.b

The recession reduced employment throughout the South African economy. According to Manpower Survey No. 16 listing all persons employed in April 1985, Black women were the only group (by race and sex) showing an increase in total numbers employed in listed occupations over numbers for April 1983. The Black female labour force increased from 487 982 in 1983 to 497 985 in 1985, or by 2,1 per cent, while all other groups except Coloured women had negative growth rates (see Table 2.8).

TABLE 2.9: AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POTENTIAL FEMALE LABOUR SUPPLY

AGE GROUP	1960				1970			
	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS
15-19	8,7	9,5	12,0	9,5	8,8	10,6	12,3	10,4
20-24	7,4	9,0	10,1	8,9	8,4	8,8	10,7	8,4
25-34	13,4	13,6	14,0	14,5	14,0	12,6	15,0	13,4
35-44	12,2	8,9	9,3	10,5	11,5	9,3	9,8	9,9
45-54	11,6	6,6	5,7	6,8	10,1	5,8	6,2	6,8
55-64	7,3	3,9	2,7	4,2	8,6	4,0	3,4	4,2

Sources: 1) Statistical Year Book, 1965.

2) South African Statistics, 1970.c

AGE GROUP	1980				1985			
	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS
15-19	8,8	12,2	10,4	10,7	8,7	11,8	10,7	11,0
20-24	8,5	10,2	9,6	9,9	8,4	11,0	10,1	10,6
25-34	15,9	14,8	17,0	13,7	15,8	16,2	17,1	15,2
35-44	13,0	9,7	11,7	9,5	13,6	10,5	13,2	10,0
45-54	9,6	6,9	7,5	6,8	9,9	7,4	8,2	6,8
55-64	8,0	4,1	4,3	4,5	8,1	4,5	4,8	4,6

Sources: 3) Central Statistical Services, 1980.a

4) Central Statistical Services, 1985.b

## 2.6. THE AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POTENTIAL FEMALE LABOUR SUPPLY

The proportion of females in the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups was the lowest among Whites (less than 10 per cent) compared with the other three population groups where it hovered around 10 per cent and even showed an increase in later years. This disparity can be attributed to different stages in demographic transition among the race groups. In these age groups most women are either still busy with their studies, contemplating starting families or unemployed due to limited work experience. The ages of 24-54 when most women are engaged in labour force activity. Table 2.9 shows that White females constituted the highest proportion of this group, which increased from 37,2 per cent in 1960 to 39,3 per cent in 1985. The corresponding percentages for the other population groups are Coloureds from 29,1 per cent to 34,1 per cent; Asians from 29 per cent to 38,5 per cent; and Blacks from 31,8 per cent to 32 per cent. The biggest increase occurred among Asian females. While the White and Asian populations showed increases over the whole period, Coloured and Black populations decreased between 1960 and 1970. For Blacks the figure stabilised in 1980 at the 1970 figure of 30 per cent. The number of females aged 54-65, when most people start retiring from the labour force, also shows an increase for all population groups and a doubling of the percentage for the Asian population. The age structure of the potential labour supply is further evidence of a youthful Black population.

## 2.7 THE ACTIVITY AND PARTICIPATION RATES OF THE DIFFERENT POPULATION GROUPS

### 2.7.1 The Activity Rate

The size of the economically active population is influenced by social, cultural and legal institutions in the economy and the level of technological sophistication. Age, however, has the most important bearing on this variable

since the economically active population is drawn mostly from the 15-65 age group, the so-called productive years. Social, cultural and legal influences affect people's attitudes to work. The degree of technological sophistication will largely determine the average amount of education required and supplied by the economy, which in turn will affect the average age of entry into the labour market (Nattrass, 1988: 27-31).

Table 2.10 shows the proportion of the South African population that was economically active (the activity rate), for each racial group, for 1970, 1980 and 1985.

TABLE 2.10: ACTIVITY RATES ACCORDING TO POPULATION GROUP

YEAR	SEX	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS	TOTAL
Total Economically Active - 1970	Male	56,4	46,0	47,0	49,3	50,1
	Female	23,7	24,2	11,0	25,5	24,6
	Total	40,0	34,9	28,9	37,2	37,2
Total Economically Active - 1980	Male	56,3	44,4	46,7	43,9	46,2
	Female	27,7	26,8	16,0	21,2	22,8
	Total	41,9	35,4	31,2	36,5	34,7
Total Economically Active - 1985	Male	55,8	47,9	51,4	45,4	47,9
	Female	30,9	31,8	20,2	24,8	26,7
	Total	43,2	39,6	35,6	35,0	37,2

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1986.a

According to Table 2.10 the rank order of the groups changes with the measure of economic activity that is used. These differences in the ranking reflect both underlying age structures of the population and variations in attitudes towards participation in the work process. The age

structure of the different racial communities of is such that we see a rapidly growing Black population with more children than the slower growing White population.

Social and cultural forces also affect activity rates. Men participate in the formal labour process to a greater extent than women, reflecting the woman's role as child bearer. Secondly, the activity rates of Asian women are particularly low when judged against those of women in other groups. Since the rates for Asian men are roughly equivalent to those for Blacks and Coloureds, a difference in group attitudes to women and work accounts for the low overall activity rate of Asian females.

## 2.7.2 The Participation Rate

The participation rate is the economically active population as a percentage of the labour potential, that is the proportion of adults in the 15-65 age group that is willing and able to work. Estimates of the participation rates in the South Africa are also complicated by the heterogeneity of the population and the diversity within any population group.

Table 2.11 shows the female participation rates according to age group for the different population groups.

TABLE 2.11: PARTICIPATION RATES FOR WOMEN IN 1970, 1980 AND 1985

AGE GROUP	WHITES			COLOURED			ASIANS			BLACKS		
	1970	1980	1985	1970	1980	1985	1970	1980	1985	1970	1980	1985
- 20	12,3	7,3	6,0	26,5	16,1	13,2	25,8	14,7	12,2	23,5	10,0	8,4
20 - 24	20,8	18,5	17,9	21,8	24,4	25,4	26,5	25,3	24,7	21,6	19,5	19,4
25 - 34	21,9	27,9	28,8	23,2	29,4	31,9	25,6	32,5	32,4	25,4	31,1	33,0
35 - 54	33,7	36,7	38,4	23,9	26,1	25,8	18,9	25,6	28,4	24,8	33,1	33,1
55 - 64	9,2	7,5	7,1	4,0	3,5	3,2	2,7	1,6	2,0	3,8	5,2	5,0
65 +	2,1	2,1	1,8	0,6	0,6	0,5	0,4	0,3	0,2	0,9	1,1	1,1

The participation rate for White females under 20 has declined since 1970. For Blacks and Asians in this age group the rate was fairly low as well. This can be attributed to longer study periods undertaken by women with the hope of pursuing professional careers. The labour force participation of White, Coloured, and Asian women tends to peak in the 20-24 and 35-54 age brackets. Black participation rates seem to be fairly well distributed over the different age ranges. Thus, in the 25-34 age group most married women are concerned with beginning families and only return to work once the children are of school-going age. The sudden drop in the participation rate of the three non-White female groups in the labour force from age 54 onwards (for Asians the decline occurs much earlier, at the age of 35), can be attributed to a more youthful population, shorter period of schooling or after-school training, earlier family planning periods and the holding of a job as opposed to pursuing a career path. However, an important trend to emerge in recent times is the willingness of more women to remain in paid labour for a longer period of time and to retire much later. This is especially true of the White and Black populations, where, in the former, the children have no obligation to care for parents and, in the latter, pension benefits are often unavailable.

Thus the need to earn additional income, the higher levels of education and the desire to improve standards of living are the main reasons for higher female activity and participation rates. However, child bearing and child care can still be regarded as inhibiting factors.

## 2.8 CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

The growth rate of the total population declined from the 1970s. However, the growth rate of the Black population showed little change. The declining growth rate has important implications for the labour supply in terms of which women can enter the labour market, the availability of women from the different population groups for employment



opportunities and the demand for child care facilities in the future. The segment of the economically active female population increased since 1936 and almost doubled during the last fifty years. The biggest increase occurred among Asian women, followed by Blacks.

An analysis of the activity and participation rates shows that these differ between the races as well as between the sexes. Differences in participation rates can be partially explained by the disparities which exist between the race groups in respect of the average length of time spent in education. At present, the average levels of education received by Blacks are very much lower than those of the other groups. As Black average educational levels increase in the future, so the participation rates can be expected to increase.

## CHAPTER THREE

### FACTORS INFLUENCING THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The participation of women in the labour force is influenced by factors such as migration, urbanisation, wages of domestic help, unemployment, discrimination in the labour market, marital status, child bearing and child care.

#### 3.2 MIGRATION AND URBANISATION

##### 3.2.1 Migration

The supply of labour is affected by migration (whether internal or extrinsic) and urbanisation. The general tendency in immigration from 1983 to the end of June 1988 is shown in Table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1: NUMBER OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE IMMIGRANTS FROM JANUARY 1983 TO JUNE 1988

YEAR					
1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
14 000	14 451	7 816	3 084	3 468	2 535

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1988.b

Up to 1985 immigration contributed to high-level manpower. This was also influenced to a large extent by White immigration from Zimbabwe, but that tendency ceased in the following year.

In 1986 female immigrants numbered 3 576, more than half of the total number of immigrants. Their age structure was as follows:

17,9 per cent under the age of 14;  
74,5 per cent in the 15-64 age group;  
7,5 per cent over the age of 65.

Furthermore, of the proportion of females in the 15-64 age group (that is those willing and able to work), 65 per cent were in the 20-39 age group. Thus the potential labour supply of females will be quite high in future. However, with almost 18 per cent still of school going age, the dependency ratio is quite substantial. Therefore we expect the demand for schooling to be high among this group.

Twenty-three per cent of female immigrants were economically active compared to 65 per cent males. The main occupations in which the women engaged were the professional, technical and related fields (34 per cent); clerical and related fields (31,5 per cent); sales (8 per cent); and service sectors (10,1 per cent). More than a quarter of the professional females were teachers. Thus women from outside South Africa were also engaged to a large extent in the so-called 'female occupations' in the teaching and clerical fields. However, female immigrants cannot be regarded as an important source of labour supply in the domestic economy, although they are important sources of high and middle-level manpower.

In spite of the relatively greater influx of immigrants in the first half of 1988, it is questionable whether immigrants will constitute a significant source of high level manpower in the coming years. Political factors such as unrest, the scrapping of racial laws, compulsory military service, and economic factors such as high interest rates, inflation and taxation will serve to deter immigration from affecting high-level manpower (HLM) needs. The present

situation of political restructuring, which is facilitating the return of political exiles to the country, may serve to supplement the country's supply of HLM, as many exiles are highly qualified.

### 3.2.2 Urbanisation

One of the by-products of economic development that occurred during the 1940s was the widespread move to the cities. As the majority of English-speaking communities had been urbanised from the outset, it was especially the Afrikaners and the non-Whites who were affected. Their rural backgrounds did not prepare them for the social and economic problems of the cities.

Official government policy until 1986 regarding Blacks was that they should be restrained from settling in White areas. The intention was to let Blacks do more skilled work and live with their families away from 'White South Africa'. Capital intensiveness in White urban industries was encouraged. The 1964 Black Labour Act consolidated earlier pieces of legislation and divided South Africa into White prescribed areas (urban industrial), White non-prescribed (White agricultural) areas and Black homelands. The migrant labour system was used to supply Black labour to White areas. These workers were brought in contract via the labour bureau.

The Blacks (urban areas) Consolidation Act was to regulate the migratory labour system. Section 10(1) of this Act as amended laid down the conditions under which Blacks legally qualified to reside in White areas. To keep Blacks out of White South Africa, the government tightened its control over Black numbers and their permanence in towns. A 1968 amendment to the 1945 Blacks (urban areas) Consolidation Act required contract workers from the homelands to return to their place of origin every year. This deprived them of Section 10(1)(b) rights in prescribed White areas and restricted Black urbanisation.

In addition, the 1970 Bantu Laws Amendment Act provided for stricter application of job reservation. A Black could be prohibited from employment in any job, in any area or in the service of any employer.

Further controls (notoriously known as influx control) were enacted to maintain the politically desirable spatial distribution of the population. Influx control resulted in the formation of two classes of Black labour. Those with Section 10 rights were allowed to remain in urban areas and, as insiders, they were able to seek jobs with good pay as it was state policy that they should have first choice of modern sector jobs. The migrant workers who came on contract were in the majority outsiders, unskilled or semi-skilled. They had restricted access to good jobs. Insiders were in a more favourable position in terms of training and access to technical and clerical jobs. This practice led to the creation of a relatively privileged urban Black middle-class group (Brijlal, 1990: 66-69). This served to perpetuate the low wages of migrant workers.

With rapid economic growth during the 1960s it became increasingly difficult to maintain this economic colour bar. Since the beginning of the 1970s there was a relaxation of industrial policy. There was more industrial unrest in the form of strikes and stay-away actions by Black workers. In 1979 the government accepted the recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission with the result that Black trade unions were accepted as negotiating bodies for the first time and job reservation based on race was abolished. In 1984 Blacks were included in the definition of employees and non-racial trade unions were permitted. In 1986 influx control was abolished in favour of a new policy of orderly urbanisation whereby Blacks were allowed to work and settle in urban areas within the framework of the existing group areas legislation. In 1989 the government embarked on a new dispensation in terms of which all existing apartheid legislation was to be repealed.

Black migration or urbanisation is a dominant demographic trend in South Africa. According to demographic statistics of the Central Statistical Services (July, 1989) 55,9 per cent of the population was urbanised in 1985. The breakdown being as follows: 93,4 per cent Asians, 89,6 per cent Whites, 77,8 per cent Coloureds, and 53 per cent Blacks.

According to the population census of 1985 just over 6 million Blacks were living in urban areas. Of these 1 million were urbanised in the self-governing territories and nearly 5 million living in towns and cities outside the self-governing territories. These were mainly migrants from neighbouring states and the independent national states (the TBVC states). There is no doubt that the percentage contribution by Blacks to the population of the country's metropolitan areas has grown with each census. By 1985 Blacks accounted for more than half (55,6 per cent) of the population of the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vaal Triangle area and for 45,8 per cent of the population of the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage region. In total Blacks made up 40,4 per cent of the population of the four major metropolitan areas (Bureau of Information 1989: 186-188).

It is apparent that Whites, Coloureds and Asians have largely stabilised both in terms of population growth and geographic distribution. Black urbanisation outside the self-governing and independent national territories is expected to accelerate in the next few decades, especially now that influx control has been abolished. According to a report by the Urban Foundation, by the year 2010, 69 per cent of the Black population is expected to be urbanised, more than two-thirds of which will be in the metropolitan areas. In general, South Africa's Black population is younger, poorer and less skilled than the remainder of the population. This means that future policy must be reconstructed so as to address those issues of concern to Blacks. As the rate of Black urbanisation increases, Black women will become even more significant participants in the labour market (Urban Foundation, 1989: 21-22).

### 3.3 UNEMPLOYMENT

It is not possible to directly test the additional-worker hypothesis that a wife is more likely to be in the labour force if her husband is unemployed than if he is working. Tables 2.6 and 2.7, which classified the economically active population according to work status, give some indication of the degree of unemployment in each population group.

It is important to note that in the source used for these tables the unemployed were defined as persons who desired to work and complied with all the following requirements:

- did not work, that is worked less than 5 hours during the previous 7 days;
- attempted to find work during the previous month;
- were between the ages of 15 and 64 in the case of men and 15 and 59 in the case of women.

Persons not complying with all the requirements were classified as non-economically active or workers depending on the information supplied.

From Tables 2.6 and 2.7 we notice that the White population had the lowest number of unemployed females. This was followed by Asians. However, the figure was relatively higher for Coloureds and Blacks. For example, for Coloured females it rose from 2,2 per cent in 1970 to 9,6 per cent in 1980. The largest increase occurred among Black women, that is from 5,8 per cent in 1970 to 15,4 per cent in 1980.

To arrive at a clearer picture of the unemployment, it is important to analyse the more recent statistics. A more reliable indication of unemployment can be obtained from the Current Population Survey (CPS). According to this survey, unemployment among Blacks, Coloureds and Asians is determined on the basis of the following definitions:

- i) the strict definition of unemployment: according to international norms the person concerned must, among other things, have taken steps to obtain work;
- ii) the expanded definition: people who wanted to work but for some reason or other did not actively seek work;
- iii) visible underemployment: persons who worked less than 35 hours a week but wanted to work full-time

The trend that is apparent from Table 3.2 is that the unemployment rate is higher among females than males. Unemployment among Coloured females more than doubled in 5 years from 5,9 per cent in 1981 to 13 per cent in 1986 although there was a slight decrease in 1984. One-tenth of the Asian economically active population was unemployed from 1982 to 1986. Blacks had the highest unemployment rates, but these fluctuated between 1983 and 1984 and between 1985 and 1986.

The unemployment problem must be analysed in terms of the economy's ability to accommodate new entrants to the labour market, which has decreased rapidly. Until about 20 years ago, approximately 75 per cent of new entrants could find work in the formal sector. This decreased to 63 per cent between 1970 and 1975 and to only 35 per cent between 1975 and 1980. Between 1985 and 1989 the extremely low level of 12,5 per cent was reached. Presently only one in ten entrants to the labour market can be employed in the formal sector (Financial Mail, 1991: 49-50).



TABLE 3.2: UNEMPLOYMENT ACCORDING TO CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY UNEMPLOYMENT RATES

MONTH OF YEAR	COLOUREDS			ASIANS			BLACKS		
	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
1981 (2)	4,5	3,6	5,9	..	..	..	7,8	5,0	13,8
1982 (2)	5,0	4,5	6,0	6,6	5,7	9,1	7,7	5,1	13,7
1983 (2)	7,6	7,0	8,5	7,3	6,4	9,6	8,5	6,0	14,1
1984 (2)	6,2	5,2	7,8	6,5	5,5	9,2	8,1	5,4	13,5
1985 (2)	8,1	7,9	8,5	7,6	6,7	10,4	7,8	5,4	12,7
1986 (2)	10,7	9,2	13,0	10,0	8,2	15,2	19,4	15,4	27,2
1987 (2)	14,4	13,3	16,0	12,2	10,6	16,1	16,0	11,6	23,8
1988 (2)	10,4	9,7	11,5	9,3	8,5	11,5	13,6	10,6	18,9
1989 (2)	7,9	7,3	8,9	6,4	6,1	7,3	11,2	8,3	16,3

(1) The dividing line indicates that the data are not comparable.

(2) June figure taken as year figure.

High female unemployment can be attributed to a number of causes, but the main reason is the high concentration of women in a few occupations, which implies that redundancy and competition are high. This can be expected to become more pervasive in future as people of other population groups move into occupations that were once regarded as the domain of Whites, for example clerical jobs.

#### 3.4 FEMALE LABOUR SUPPLY AND WAGES OF DOMESTIC HELP

As indicated in Chapter one, there ought to be an inverse relation between the 'going wage' paid for domestic help and the labour supply rate of working married and single women, other things being the same. This, however, is not reflective of differences in the demand for such help by working wives. But where this is the case, the relationship will hold since the demand for domestic help will be greater in those cities where more women elect to work. In addition we expect the prices for such services to be higher in metropolitan areas.

It is not possible to test this hypothesis directly because of a lack of reliable statistics and the difficulty of separating cause from effect. Table 3.3 indicates the supply of domestic help since 1946.

Table 3.3 reveals that over a period of 41 years, employment in domestic services increased on average by 71 730. It must be borne in mind that domestic help is the main occupation that is available to the majority of the Black female population firstly, because of restrictive legislation which aimed to perpetuate Blacks in unskilled jobs and secondly because of low educational levels. The biggest increases occurred between 1946 and 1950 and between 1960 and 1970.

TABLE 3.3: EMPLOYMENT IN DOMESTIC SERVICES

YEAR	NUMBER (1 000)
1946	525
1950	561
1960	595
1970	757
1980	781
1983	787
1984	789
1985	790
1986	793
1987	795

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1988.

Regarding expenditure on domestic help per household in South Africa in 1985, the Bureau of Market Research found that White multiple households spent R750,74, Black R24,85, Coloured R40,49 and Asian R38,66. Of single households, only Whites employed domestic help in 1985 (Bureau of Market Research, 1989: 122-126). As household chores imply a conflicting use of a woman's time, employing a maid to do the housework provides the opportunity for labour force participation. The higher expenditure on domestic help by Whites is to be expected since White women are usually employed in highly skilled jobs, which in turn offer high incomes. To retire from work would therefore mean a substantial drop in income for these women. Among Asians and Blacks there is still some tendency to live in extended families, which provide a source of assistance with household chores. However, among Blacks the extended family, especially in urban areas, is being replaced by nuclear families.

### 3.5 DISCRIMINATION

An outstanding feature of the earnings structure in South Africa is that there is a substantial gap between the average wages earned by White workers and those earned by Blacks. Racial wage discrimination is defined 'as a difference in earnings among people of different races but of equal productivity as determined by their endowments of such economic characteristics as ability and human capital' (Knight and McGrath, 1977: 245). Wage discrimination can exist either within an occupation or between occupations, in the sense that different occupations, each racially specific but involving the same levels of ability and human capital, may receive different wages.

Women often receive lower pay than men as a result of discrimination. According to Brown (1977: 145) we can distinguish between two types of discrimination. 'Discrimination before the market' is the denial of women of the same opportunities as men to develop their capabilities and to use such capabilities in the employment field. On the other hand 'discrimination within the market' is less favourable treatment in a given employment of women than men of no greater capability.

Discrimination before the market entails discrimination in upbringing and discrimination in opportunity. Discrimination in upbringing entails traditional attitudes towards women and their position in society. 'Discrimination in opportunity occurs when the entry of women into a given occupation is hampered or prevented whilst there is no such barrier to the entry of men of no great capability' (Human, 1982: 33-34). Discrimination before the market can thus be seen to lower the relative pay of women; discrimination in upbringing restricts the development of potential capabilities and discrimination in opportunity affects the allocation of women between different occupations.

Women have less freedom of choice between occupations and are often crowded into certain types of occupations, with attendant lowering of the rate of pay.

The issue of discrimination will be discussed in the context of:

- i) racial wage discrimination and earnings differentials between males and females;
- ii) the distribution of fringe benefits;
- iii) sexual harassment in the workplace.

### 3.5.1 Racial Wage Discrimination and Earnings Differentials Between Males and Females

In 1977 Knight and McGrath (1977: 245-271) undertook an analysis of racial wage discrimination in South Africa. Evidence was cited that was consistent with racial discrimination both 'prior to the market' and 'within the market'. Prior to the market it took the form of discrimination in access to education and formal training and within the market, particularly in the private sector, it mainly took the form of job discrimination rather than 'wages discrimination', that is, discrimination in access to the jobs involving greater skill acquisition and better pay rather than differences in pay. For example, in a brewery that employed 1400 Blacks, production workers doing repetitive work received less than process operators whilst the highest paid Blacks were those whose skills were least specific to the firm, namely, the heavy duty vehicle drivers and clerks.

Knight and McGrath also found that overt discrimination existed in the public sector where a three-tier salary structure, applying in descending order to Whites, Asians, Coloureds and Blacks was evident over a broad range of skills. During the period 1974-1977, Black salaries were considerably lower than those of Whites in the same post, and the salaries of other races (Asians and Coloureds) were

generally intermediate. For example, in the medical field a White nursing sister earned R400 a month, a Black R270 and an Asian and Coloured R330. However, there was a tendency for Black salaries in relation to White salaries to be higher in higher income posts, that is, wage discrimination was reduced as the level of education required in a post increased. Thus Black university professors and medical specialists received respectively 92 and 80 per cent of the pay of their White counterparts, while Black primary school teachers and police received respectively 40 and 51 per cent. Knight and McGrath therefore concluded that 'the tendency for relative wage discrimination to fall as White pay rises applied not only as between occupations but also quite commonly within the experience-related salary scales' (1977: 259).

In 1987 study by Human and Greenacre (1987: 150-164) attempted to estimate the earnings functions with gender and race being treated as dummy variables. The study dealt with the manufacturing sector and was based on a 5 per cent sample of the 1980 census data. As hypothesised, the study showed that race and gender play a pivotal role in income determination. For example, the average annual income of a 35 year old with standard 10 is 49 per cent of that of a White male if the individual is a White female, 45 per cent if the individual is an Asian or Coloured male, 28 per cent if she is Coloured or Asian, 23 per cent if he is Black and 16 per cent if she is Black. Average increases in income per year of age and per year of education were found to be disproportionately high in the case of Black males and non-White females. In terms of income differences, Human and Greenacre concluded that three clearly defined groups could be discerned, namely,

- i) White males
- ii) White females, Coloured and Asian males
- iii) Black males, Coloured, Asian and Black females

The role of earnings in the participation decision of single and married women is clear cut. For various reasons, we expect the participation of women to be higher in metropolitan areas, where the earnings of women are higher, other factors (including the income of husbands) being the same. Women without young children may have an easier time substituting work in the market for work in the home and thus we might expect their decision to be more sensitive to variations in earnings opportunities than women with young children. Also, some women without young children have marginal labour force status and it is the marginal participants whom one would expect to be most sensitive to variations in labour market conditions. Differences in earnings of women have no significant effect on the participation of young women since they do not have much previous work experience.

Traditionally the norms and values which prevail in society play a part in determining the actual wage rate paid. Pay rates for a particular group are affected by preconceived ideas about the propensity of the group to display negative features, for example, education, continuity of job experience, number of years in the labour force, absenteeism and turnover.

Male and female earnings differ from region to region and reflect the availability of employment opportunities. Even in 1985 the earnings differential gap between males and females was quite pronounced. For White females the average salary and wages were highest in Pretoria (R10 993) and lowest in Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage (R8 223), the difference being 33,6 per cent. On average, the salaries and wages on White males in Johannesburg were 142 per cent higher than that of White females (Bureau of Market Research, 1989: 51-68).

Black females earned most on average in Johannesburg (R4 292) and least in Kimberley (R2 300). A comparison between males and females reveals that in Johannesburg males earned R2 220 (51,7 per cent) more than females.

Average salaries and wages of Coloured women in Johannesburg were virtually on a par with those of men in the Cape Peninsula (males in the Cape Peninsula earned on average R6 854 and females in Johannesburg R6 804). The average salary of Coloureds in the Cape Peninsula in 1985 was R4 576 which is about one-third less than the salary of Coloured women in Johannesburg (Bureau of Market Research, 1989: 97-108).

The average salaries and wages of Asian females was R8 596 in Johannesburg or 62,4 per cent of those of their male counterparts in Johannesburg (R13 733). Asian females in Durban earned R5 274 (63 per cent of their female counterparts in Johannesburg) (Bureau of Market Research, 1989: 108-120).

White females, in comparison with the three non-White female population groups, were the top salary earners. For example, in 1985 White females in metropolitan areas earned R10 462 on average in salaries and wages. In other words, they earned 83 per cent more than Asian females (R5 716), 108 per cent more than Coloured females (R5 029) and 203,5 per cent more than Black females (R3 447) (Bureau of Market Research, 1989: 23-24).

The Port Elizabeth Salary Surveys have analysed pay differentials using the Paterson Job Evaluation System which consists of six broad categories, with Category A comprising unskilled workers and Category F, top management. Table 3.4 shows the differences in pay between White males and females, of all race groups since 1980.



TABLE 3.4: FEMALE PAY AS A PERCENTAGE OF WHITE MALE PAY

YEAR AND GROUP	PATERSON BAND				
	A	B LOWER	B UPPER	C LOWER	C UPPER
1980					
White Males	100	100	100	100	100
White Females	83	70	-	71	-
Asian Females	64	69	-	70	-
Black Females	42	46	-	44	-
Coloured Females	46	53	-	-	-
1984					
White Males	100	100	100	100	100
White Females	76	81	80	79	96
Asian Females	51	72	71	74	79
Black Females	45	59	57	-	-
Coloured Females	46	62	63	60	-
1984					
White Males	100	100	100	100	100
White Females	95	86	80	91	92
Asian Females	74	75	76	74	80
Black Females	64	66	65	65	69
Coloured Females	65	74	70	77	-

Source: Institute of Personnel Management, 1989.a

Table 3.4 has two noteworthy features, namely:

- 1) The pay gap between White males and females of all race groups has narrowed substantially over the 8 year period. Women have caught up between 6 and 20 per cent of the difference in pay which existed between themselves and White men in 1980. White women, in particular, have almost caught up to their male counterparts.

- ii) Women have moved into job categories previously held by men, particularly in the semi-skilled, skilled and supervisory levels.

These two features are not in fact separate phenomena. The economic and numerical forces which have allowed women to move into jobs originally the preserve of men 'have given rise to a recognition of their role within the organisation' (Brehm, 1989: 20-21). This has gone a long way to eradicating previously held views of the value of women as employees. In addition, as women have moved into these jobs, they have done so at salary levels close to their male counterparts, rather than on 'traditional' female salary levels. This in turn has put pressure on female salaries throughout the remuneration structure.

Table 3.4 reveals that women in general are doing better in relation to White men. Table 3.5 shows female salaries as a percentage of male salaries in each race group.

Women in all race groups fare reasonably well in comparison to their male counterparts, but particularly striking is the comparison between males and females among Blacks. Here, in both the B Lower and C Lower bands, women were earning higher salaries than men. In these categories Black women have moved in large numbers into jobs previously viewed as for White females. While they have come in at lower salaries than their White female counterparts, their salary levels have been higher than those traditional for Blacks.

In South Africa Black women are exposed to double discrimination - on the counts of being Black and women. While women all over the world struggle against pay discrimination, Black women are usually at the bottom end of pay scales. Some of their problems include lack of career-orientated training, social-role expectations and dual role responsibilities, lack of day care and other support systems (Prekel, 1989: 13-16). Married women especially in the Black and Asian communities have limited rights.

TABLE 3.5: FEMALE PAY AS A PERCENTAGE OF MALE PAY BY RACE GROUP, 1988

YEAR AND GROUP	PATERSON BAND				
	A	B LOWER	B UPPER	C LOWER	C UPPER
1980					
White Males	100	100	100	100	100
White Females	95	86	80	91	92
Asian Males	100	100	100	100	100
Asian Females	90	90	98	93	91
Black Males	100	100	100	100	100
Black Females	95	104	99	104	94
Coloured Males	100	100	100	100	100
Coloured Females	85	96	88	95	-

Source: Institute of Personnel Management, 1989.a

In September 1988 the Labour Relations Amendment Act stipulated that it was an unfair labour practice to discriminate against women in the workplace. The largest occupational class in the public service is education, and about 70 per cent of educators are women. The next largest occupational class is nursing, and more than 95 per cent of nurses are women. Furthermore, about 43 per cent of all temporary and 46 per cent of all permanent civil servants are women. In the light of this, the Minister of Manpower, Mr Eli Louw explained that 'the Labour Relations Act defines discrimination solely on the ground of sex as an unfair labour practice' (Cosmopolitan, 1989: 92).

Discrimination within the market can be seen to exist in the teaching, nursing and clerical occupations, that is those

occupations that tend to attract large numbers of women. For example, a woman teacher at Post Level One, that is someone who is not a department head or higher, earned between R200 and R270 a month less than a male teacher in 1989. Furthermore 91 per cent of all Level One posts are held by women as opposed to 64 per cent in the profession as a whole. In 1991 the Minister of Education announced there would be greater parity between male and female teachers in future. The nursing profession has been subjected to ghettoising, its job descriptions being isolated from comparison for competition with other jobs. The starting salary for clerks in the civil service is between R833 and R994 a month. After 4 years one becomes a senior administrative clerk earning between R994 and R1 526, and that is where most women stay if they remain in employment (Cosmopolitan, 1990: 3-5). A further inhibiting factor for work involvement by professionally qualified women was found in the past South African taxation system for married couples.

These discrepancies between salaries can be wholly attributed to sex, and the country will stand to lose the energy and enthusiasm of many women who find themselves in some way discriminated against because of their sex. There is a need to understand that women are important sole earners and co-earners in families so that they require an income commensurate with their experience and qualifications to maintain a decent standard of living. With the change in legislation allowing single women to purchase property and married women to take out hire purchase agreements, equal remuneration becomes a crucial factor.

Although racial job reservation has been scrapped, sexist job reservation still exists despite sexual discrimination being declared an unlawful practice. The police force, faced with massive staff shortages, opened their ranks to Black women last year and were flooded with applications. In the mining industry, women are not allowed underground or on mine premises at night unless in senior job categories (Financial Mail: 1990). The new Mineral Bill slightly

amends this, permitting women on mine premises at night, but still not allowing them underground unless they are in a managerial position or are connected to health services. Women mining engineers at present can only work on open cast mines.

Research on the attitudes of White English-speaking male managers towards the advancement of White women in business suggests that male managers doubt the ability of women. Although now the focus of attention is often on creating opportunities for Blacks, this often translates into opportunities for Black men. A recent study by the University of Witwatersrand Business School found that 52 per cent of all respondents of the Financial Mail's top 100 companies do not wish to promote women to managerial positions. The only reason they could advance was that they believed family roles created conflict for career women. They also admitted that most corporations were dominated by male values and behaviour, which created difficulties for women at work (Financial Mail, 1991: 8-9).

Increasingly, as a consequence of discrimination women are moving away from corporate structures and becoming entrepreneurs. South African figures parallel those of Britain, where the number of women entrepreneurs has risen by 70 per cent in the past 6 years, compared to an increase of 30 per cent for men, and many are also employers (Financial Mail, 1990: 23-24).

### 3.5.2 Discrimination in the Distribution of Fringe Benefits

Salary structures increasingly rely on benefits and perks to attract staff as the spending power of money declines. However, as will be shown in the following section, these benefits are unfairly distributed between the sexes, and women are often excluded from them.

Women of all races are blatantly discriminated against in housing subsidies, unemployment insurance and pensions. The

civil service serves as an example. A single female who has a housing subsidy automatically loses that privilege through marriage. Furthermore, female civil servants, unlike male, who are temporarily employed cannot have a housing subsidy. On the issue of maternity leave, women civil servants on the permanent staff cannot contribute to the UIF, but they have to take unpaid maternity leave. This disadvantages child bearers. Some financial institutions nowadays have agreed to provide reasonable maternity leave, most offering 4 to 6 months with one bank guaranteeing salary for up to 9 months. Such arrangements, however, have the effect of planning families for women, requiring as they do an initial service period and a specified time period between children for maternity benefits to apply. This can be problematic in the case of unplanned pregnancies, when a women could be forced to resign if she does not comply with the rules. More recently breakthroughs have been made in the granting of maternity benefits. These include 10 months' maternity leave and a recognition of the role of fathers in assisting with parenting. Enlightened companies here give male employees 8 days paid leave to assist their wives over the period of childbirth (Sunday Tribune, 28 October 1990).

Turning to pensions front, a man pays 8 per cent of his salary and a women 6 per cent into a pension fund. The extra 2 per cent paid by a man covers his widow if he dies: his widow and dependants will get 50 per cent of his pension monthly in perpetuity, even if the widow remarries. If a woman dies, her husband has no claim to her pension, and her dependent children receive a lump sum based on her salary at death. This lump sum is unlikely to be very large as the majority of female civil servants outside the teaching and nursing profession are clerks.

### 3.5.3 Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

Sexual harassment in the workplace is an issue that is largely ignored in South African society. This is so because most victims do not report such behaviour for fear of victimisation. Statistics on the number of female

workers that have been sexually harassed are virtually non-existent. However, the University of Cape Town has convened a special commission on sexual harassment. F Beasley, who conducted Sexual Harassment Awareness Programmes, found that 76 per cent of women have been subjected to some form of sexual harassment during their working lives and that most would rather resign than 'make a fuss' (Financial Mail, 1990: 26). In the USA in the last five years studies have also shown that sexual harassment is a big problem, and 42 per cent of the women reporting that they had experienced some form of harassment.

Prejudice is unacceptable and organisations that have subscribed to a White male subculture will have to change its outlook. Sexual harassment can have other ramifications. Labour turnover may increase if harassed employees feel there is no hope for remedying the situation. Absenteeism could also be another outcome if the situation goes unchecked. Even if an employee does remain on the job, other problems such as low morale may develop. Inefficiency, lack of teamwork and low productivity could result from low morale. According to Garbett (1982: 102) 'Sexual harassment is a form of misconduct by an offending co-employer which undermines the integrity of the employment relationship'.

Problems such as discrimination in earnings, promotional opportunities and fringe benefits can obviously be overcome, though attitudes and opinions will have to be changed. As more women progress to higher ranks in the workplace, the attitude of society will change accordingly.

### 3.6 MARRIED WOMEN AND THE DOUBLE ROLE OF WOMEN

In this section the double role of women and the inherent role conflict experienced by working mothers are considered, together with possible accommodations for working mothers, such as part-time work, flexi-time and child care facilities.

A worldwide phenomenon from the 1950s onwards was a great influx of married women into the labour market. In the UK only 10 per cent of married women worked for wages in 1921. This figure rose to almost 22 per cent in 1951 and to 42 per cent in 1971 (Becker, 1975: 11-12). A similar pattern is observable in the USA. The labour force participation rate of married women was 9 per cent in 1920 (roughly double what it was in 1890), 23 per cent in 1950, 41 per cent in 1970 and is still rising rapidly.

In South Africa as well there was a considerable rise in the proportion of married women in the work-force. The largest female gains in work-force were made in the 1950s and 1960s when their proportion rose from 21,8 per cent in 1951 to 29,8 per cent in 1970, married women accounting for 81,1 per cent of their net growth from 1960 to 1970 (Wessels, 1974: 76-78).

An analysis of the statistics on economically active women over the past two decades hints at the number of married women that are both working women, and mothers and wives (see Tables 3.6 and 3.7). The proportion of White married economically active females within the total White married female population since 1960 is as follows:

1960 : 19,4 per cent

1970 : 28,4 per cent

1980 : 36,6 per cent

When considering Table 3.6, it is important to bear in mind that the censuses of 1960 and 1970 only differentiated economically active females between never married and married.

For the other population groups, the proportion of married economically active females is as follows:

Asian women	:	1960 : 3,6 per cent
		1980 : 19,4 per cent



Coloured women :	1960 : 23,2 per cent
	1980 : 36,2 per cent
Black women :	1960 : 15,6 per cent
	1980 : 31,8 per cent

According to the above statistics, 1 of every 5 married Asian women was employed outside the home in 1980, as against 1 of 3 married women from the other three population groups. The increase in the number of working married women for all population groups was more than 13 per cent over the past twenty years.

Gerdes (1979), in summarising the importance of social and technological changes that saw the entry of more women into labour market, mentions the number of single women (matrons, careerist and divorcees) that are self-sufficient. If young women marry, they remain in employment until they are about 24. The main period of family formation is from 25 to 34 years of age. From 35 to retiring age a considerable number of women re-enter the labour force particularly after the youngest child has settled down at primary school. Marriage is an inhibiting factor that affects one's choice of career and undermines work commitment.

The constantly increasing participation of married women in the labour market can be viewed as a trend that is likely to become more entrenched in the future. However, this has a number of implications. Certain adaptations to take account of the double role of the women are necessary. These include the provision of child care facilities, flexi-time hours, division of labour and part-time posts.

In 1981, one of the banking groups in South Africa implemented a pilot scheme in which the job fits the woman, rather than the other way around' (van der Walt, 1986: 31). The reaction to this scheme was very favourable, indicating that it definitely filled a need. Flexi-time hours is already being implemented by a number of organisations.

TABLE 3.6: THE TOTAL WHITE FEMALE POPULATION (ALL AGES) AND THE TOTAL WHITE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE POPULATION (15-65 YEARS) ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS FOR 1960, 1970 AND 1980

MARITAL STATUS	TOTAL WHITE FEMALE POPULATION						TOTAL WHITE FEMALE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE POPULATION					
	1) 1960		2) 1970		3) 1980		a) 1960		b) 1970		c) 1980	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Never Married	715 133	46,3	857 552	45,3	954 420	42,2	122 268	41,3	146 979	32,8	148 340	23,6
Married	684 621	44,3	849 104	44,9	1 033 640	45,7	132 606	44,8	240 108	53,6	378 740	0,2
Widowed	120 079	7,8	145 542	7,7	183 340	8,1					37 980	6,0
Divorced	23 390	1,5	33 251	1,8	65 080	2,9	40 866	13,6	60 903	13,6	46 960	7,5
Living Together	2 013	0,1	6 020	0,3	26 220	1,2						
Total	1 545 236	100	1 891 469	100	2 262 700	100	295 740	100	447 990	100	629 420	100

Sources: 1) South African Statistics, 1970.a

2) South African Statistics, 1986

3) Population Census 1980.b

TABLE 3.7: THE TOTAL COLOURED, ASIAN AND BLACK FEMALE POPULATION (ALL AGES)  
AND THE TOTAL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE POPULATION (15-65)  
ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS FOR 1960 AND 1980

POPULATION GROUP	YEAR	GROUP		MARITAL STATUS			
				NEVER MARRIED	MARRIED	OTHER	TOTAL
				N	N	N	N
Asians	1960	1) TOTAL	N	148 051	73 920	13 477	235 448
			5	62,9	31,4	5,7	100
		2) EA	N	6 188	2 682	2 689	11 559
			5	53,5	23,2	23,3	100
	1980	3) TOTAL	N	226 460	154 040	32 640	413 140
			5	54,8	37,3	7,9	100
Coloureds	1960	TOTAL	N	488 109	225 983	44 164	758 256
			5	64,4	29,8	5,8	100
		EA	N	110 370	52 344	15 357	178 071
			5	62,0	29,4	8,6	100
	1980	TOTAL	N	851 080	340 160	132 020	1 323 260
			5	64,3	25,7	10,0	100
Blacks	1960	TOTAL	N	3 121 410	1 819 711	474 880	5 416 001
			5	57,6	33,6	8,8	100
		EA	N	384 816	284 833	168 930	838 579
			5	45,9	34,0	20,1	100
	1980	TOTAL	N	5 491 680	1 917 280	818 720	8 227 680
			5	66,7	23,3	10,0	100
	1980	EA	N	831 000	610 340	279 680	1 721 020
			5	48,3	35,5	16,2	100

EA = Economically Active

Source: 1) South African Statistics 1970.a

2) Central Statistical Services, 1980.b

### 3.7 CHILDREN

Child bearing and child rearing are two variables with a significant effect on a woman's decision to work. This can be examined through the results of a survey of the employment potential of graduate housewives in the PWV region undertaken on behalf of the Human Sciences Research Council by DM Wessels in 1974.

The survey showed that there was a tendency for women to drop out of full-time participation as soon as there was a child in the family. Thus full-time participation of 80,7 per cent for childless women fell to 39,5 per cent for mothers with one child. With an increase in the size of the family, the participation of mothers in part-time work also increased. An inverse relation was found to exist between the number of children and the proportion of mothers working full time. After a period of family formation with infants in the home, at which stage the employment rate was low, the women began to move into part-time employment. This reached a peak when mothers were between 35 and 45. From 45 years more women were able to engage in full-time employment (Wessels, 1974: 4-6).

#### 3.7.1 Childlessness and Labour Force Participation

Of the 2 059 career-motivated graduate housewives in the survey, 327 or 15,9 per cent were childless. From the results, it appeared that childlessness varied increasingly with an increase in age. Only 9,5 per cent of the graduates aged 40 years and over were childless. In comparison, 68,4 per cent of the youngest group were childless and the proportion of childless graduates fell to 8,9 per cent for the group aged 35 to 39. This hints at the possibility that graduate women start their families later; for example, 63,9 per cent of the childless women were aged 20 to 34 years.

Wessels (1974: 6-9) also considered fertility with duration of marriage. She analysed the fertility profiles of likely

completed and uncompleted families of graduate women currently not separated from their husbands according to the wife's involvement in the labour market. It was found that the dividing point came at 19 years of marriage, by which time it could usually be accepted that the planned family was complete.

Twenty-three per cent of the uncompleted families of career graduates in were still childless and only 5 per cent of the completed families were childless. The childless women were mostly in full-time employment. Of the uncompleted families 80,7 per cent were in full-time employment compared with 75 per cent of the completed families.

Wives from uncompleted families tended to withdraw from employment with the arrival of the first child and with each increase in the family. Furthermore, whereas only 6,6 per cent of the childless wives of uncompleted families were non-employed, 44,1 per cent with one child, 48,9 per cent with two children, 49,3 per cent with three children and 59,3 per cent with four children remained out of the labour market.

It was thus concluded that career graduate women tended to withdraw from the labour force during the building up of a family. Also apparent was the trend for graduate wives to stay on in work after marriage until the birth of the first child. Since graduate women were likely to be employed in relatively skilled and high-earning jobs, the loss of lifetime earnings would be greater. Therefore, greater commitment to market employment was to be expected from these women.

According to census statistics, a direct relation may be observed between childlessness at the age of 24 and the wife's level of education. Of the 1960 White female population 45,1 per cent of those with degrees were still childless at this age compared with 28,5 per cent of those with standard 10 education, 21,9 per cent of those with

standards 8 and 9, and only 12,1 per cent of those with standards 6 and 7. Among graduate women a greater span of time elapses between marriage and the arrival of the first child than in the case with women who do not enter university or college.

### 3.7.2      Presence      of      Children      and      Labour      Force                  Participation of Graduate Housewives

Wessels (1974: 10) observed that the overall participation rates of graduate housewives were affected by such factors as the presence and number of children in the household. The relation between the ages of children and the decision to work was discussed in Chapter one.

Wessels considered the relation between the employment status and the age of the career-motivated housewife and found that full-time occupational participation rates were highest for childless housewives of all ages, varying from 82,3 per cent for women aged 20 to 34, through 81,4 per cent for age groups 35 to 49, to 72,9 per cent for women over 50. She also noted that those who were childless were much more likely to be in the labour force than those who had any children. The proportion of childless career-motivated graduates currently employed or job-hunting was 95 per cent compared with 70 per cent for all other workers in the sample.

An inverse relation was found to exist between the number of siblings and the proportion of mothers working full-time. Mothers with one child were more likely to work full-time than those with several children. The full-time participation for mothers of one child was 39,5 per cent of the entire survey group and 26 per cent for mothers with four or more children. The opposite trend was observed for women in part-time employment.

Furthermore, the larger the family, the less likely the career-motivated housewife was to be in the labour force at

all. This trend was evident for all age-groups, but was most pronounced for the youngest mothers. Thus of mothers aged 20 to 34 who had four or more children, 61,9 per cent were not currently employed as opposed to 39 per cent of such women aged 35 to 49 and 7,7 per cent aged 50.

### 3.7.3 Activity Rate and Age of Children

Wessels (1974: 12) considered factors within the family structure which could exert an influence on the career-motivated mother's decision to go out to work, such as the age of the youngest child and siblings. The children were categorised as infants, school age and independent children. Because some mothers had children in various age groups and were included in more than one category, the exact sibling structure per family for all the individual families could not be determined.

A category comprised the total number of women with at least one child of the age specified for the particular category. The study found that non-employed career-motivated mothers were most likely to have infants in the house: 60,2 per cent of these women still had a child, or children, aged less than 3 as compared with only 7,3 per cent in full-time employment.

Career housewives currently out of the labour market but planning to return were more likely to have children aged 3-5 years than careerists who had returned to work either part-time or fulltime; 45 per cent of the women who were out of the labour market had a child, or children, in this age group as compared with 23,9 per cent of the part-time workers and 1 per cent the full-time employ workers.

If type of mother's employment is related to type of family, part-time workers were most likely to have school-going children in both primary and high school; 48,2 per cent of these workers had children aged 6 to 12 years as opposed to 25,6 per cent of the mothers in full-time employment; and

37,9 per cent had children aged 13 to 18 years, compared with 30,7 per cent of the full-time workers.

It was apparent that career-motivated mothers working full-time most often (33,6 per cent) were from families with children older than 18 years and less often had a child or children of high school age. The proportion of mothers returned full-time to work increased with each rise in the age group of children.

Childless families were excluded and the reasons given by the mothers for their preference for full-time employment were correlated with type of family. It was found that a large proportion of mothers who engaged in full-time employment did so for economic reasons (47,6 per cent) compared with only 34,6 per cent of mothers with nursery-school aged children, and an sample average of 42 per cent (Wessels, 1974: 13-18).

In general, it seems reasonable to conclude that mothers of primary-school aged children tend to work part-time unless they have to work full-time for economic reasons. Childless mothers and those with older, more independent children are more likely to be working full-time. Information about trends in family size and sibling structure has economic and social significance. From an economic view point, such information forms a basis for projecting future womanpower likely to become available for part-time and full-time employment.

### 3.8 CHILD CARE FACILITIES

Insufficient child care facilities in crèches, after-school centres and holiday camps further compound the problem of the working mother. This problem is aggravated by the unaffordability of available facilities, particularly for Black women. Only 54 per cent of pre-school children in Soweto, for example, attend crèches. The most common alternative to this 'elite' kind of child care is the child



minder. Although over 17 500 pre-school children in Soweto alone have been placed in this kind of care, more often than not it is far from satisfactory. This contributes to childhood deprivation, which in turn impedes the child's development and the chance of success at school (Fair Lady, 1986: 114-122).

As mentioned in Chapter one, a large number of women, despite the wealth of investment in their training, do not return to work after having children. As an indication of the size of this reservoir, the 1985 census showed that 50 per cent of all women between the ages of 15 and 64 are economically inactive. An example of inactive skilled women is found in the statistics of women with scientific qualifications in Table 3.8 (Bryant, 1990: 11).

TABLE 3.8: NUMBER OF ACTIVE AND INACTIVE FEMALES

SCIENTIFIC QUALIFICATION	INACTIVE	ACTIVE
Diploma plus Standard	28 345	38 762
Diploma plus Standard 10	95 182	146 738
BSc	29 806	5 178
MSc	1 256	2 941
DPhil	328	936

Source: Institute of Personnel Management, 1990

The business world is inclined to balk at the suggestion that they, and not the government, should lead the way. But they have already changed housing subsidies, pensions and medical and maternity benefit rules to accommodate women in an attempt to attract good staff. What is lacking is the will, not the money, to cater for children.

In the United States, businesses are finding innovative ways of accommodating women with children. Half of all American companies are currently considering offering child care benefits, according to estimates by the American Society for Personnel Administration (Cosmopolitan, 1990: 94). This does not necessarily mean outside crèches; it includes financial assistance, alternative work schedules and family leave options.

A law firm in Washington recently established what it calls an emergency day-care facility for up to ten children. The company estimates that it has paid for the centre's cost three times over and saved employee time. This arrangement for the small company would suit South African conditions well. Some companies have taken the route of forming consortiums, thus defraying expenses. Members contribute in cash or kind.

### 3.8.1 Measuring the Benefits

Social benefits are difficult to quantify. Nevertheless some employers are so convinced that providing this service is the right thing to do that they do not attempt to justify the costs. Even though the direct benefits accrue to only a small portion of the staff (probably not more than 4 per cent), provision of the service improves company and employee morale and also indirectly affects absenteeism and the ability to recruit new employees.

In a survey conducted in 1982 by the US Department of Health and Human Services, 691 employees whose children attended employer sponsored day-care systems evaluated the service as follows:

- 38 per cent said that the child care programme was a factor in the decision to take their current job;

- 69 per cent said it was a factor in continuing to work in the current job;
- 63 per cent reported a more positive attitude towards their company because it provided such a service;
- more than half had recommended their company to others because of this benefit.

It is thus apparent that employer-sponsored day-care holds many advantages to both employer and employee. Win Bryant (1990: 14) maintains that there is also a national benefit. Her explanation goes as follows: 'In South Africa the general state of education is very poor, and many children who are denied the advantages of good pre-school edu-care are unable to benefit fully from whatever school education is available to them. If future managers and skilled personnel are to draw from the products of the present educational system, the private sector will have to become more involved in raising the standard of education. Assistance in early childhood education will reduce the incidence of low schoolreadiness skills which leads to drop outs at primary school level. Therefore in both the short and long term the assistance with child care is well worth the consideration of enlightened companies'.

### 3.9 CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

Wage discrimination in South Africa must be seen in perspective in that it can only explain half of the difference in racial per capita income. The other half is due to discrimination against Blacks in access to modern sector employment, the unequal distribution of income from wealth and entrepreneurship and the higher dependency ratio among Blacks. Blacks only had access to modern sector jobs left vacant after Whites had been employed. This was the result of the land policies which confined Blacks to the reserves, the controls which restricted their movement to

and residence in the urban areas, and policies which impeded Blacks from acquiring knowledge and skills appropriate for modern sector employment. There were also institutional barriers on the accumulation of capital by Blacks (for example, the prohibition of freehold in the main urban areas) and Black entrepreneurs faced various obstacles imposed by the government (for example, on the location of business).

Discrimination among the sexes with regard to wages and the distribution of fringe benefits still exists in the South African labour market. It is important to bear in mind that with the country's current economic situation, the financial needs of women have changed and so has the demand for income. This is so because the majority of females are either primary breadwinners or important co-earners in a family.

South Africa is far behind the rest of the world in realising that women are an essential part of the labour force. While many companies are prepared to advance women to a certain level, they do not take cognisance of women's role as child bearer and child rearer. The largest increase in the labour market since the 1960s has been the influx of married women. This trend can be expected to continue and in order to facilitate this process, certain adaptations are necessary. These include the possibility of introducing flexi-time hours, the availability of more part-time jobs and provision for low-cost child care facilities. Such endeavours to alleviate the plight of working women will be in greater demand in future.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL AND SKILL STRUCTURE OF FEMALE LABOUR SUPPLY

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

We survey the educational attainment of females over the years, the distribution of skills and the changing occupational structure of women in the labour market. In Chapter one education was identified as one of the factors that affected women's decision to participate in the labour market.

#### 4.2 OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE TOTAL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION

The occupational structure of the labour force needed for the production of goods and services changes over time according to the demand for goods and services and also the technology needed to produce them (Terreblanche, 1981: 23). To increase our understanding of the dynamics of the labour market and since it is evident that the population groups and the sexes are unevenly distributed over the occupational structure, labour supply is broken down according to population group and sex.

We may begin by looking at the total economically active population according to work status, that is employers, employees and the unemployed. Tables 2.6 and 2.7 analysed the economically active population according to work status in 1970 and 1980, broadly indicating the structure of the female labour force. Within our present definition of economically active population, employers and employees together make up worker. The majority of the female labour force are employees rather than employers. Female employers are comprised in the main of Whites and Asians, although there was a slight increase in the percentage of Blacks in 1980. However, in comparison to their male counterparts, females formed a relatively small portion of employers.

#### 4.3 EDUCATION

An interaction of political, social, economic and educational factors has resulted in an unequal distribution of resources and opportunities. Discrimination, segregation and subordination of Blacks were prime features of the South African educational system. With the accession to power of the National Party in 1948 and the passing of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, separatist policies hardened into apartheid ideology. During the last forty years, education has been used 'to divide and control, to protect White privilege and power - socially, economically and politically - and to ensure Afrikaner dominance' (Hartshorne, 1989: 3).

In our schooling system the 11 per cent of White pupils at the apex of the pyramid, who experience a Western type of education, are a privileged elite by comparison with the mass of Black pupils at the base of the pyramid. The standard of Asian education is closest to White education, Coloured education is somewhere in the middle of the range and the 6,6 million Black pupils who constitute 76,9 per cent of all pupils are the most disadvantaged educationally (Carstens and du Plessis, 1988: 20). Black children in the homelands and rural areas are even more disadvantaged educationally than those in the urban areas.

Table 4.1 shows the economically active female population according to the level of education for the different population groups. Table 4.2 shows the percentage of matriculants for the years 1970 to 1985.

TABLE 4.1: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE POPULATION ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF EDUCATION

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	1970				1980				1985			
	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS
None & under Std 2	0,7	23,7	19,0	52,2	1,1	18,0	9,9	36,5	0,7	14,7	6,9	29,7
Up to Std 2	0,1	6,3	4,7	7,6	0,1	5,1	2,7	7,0	0,0	4,6	2,0	7,2
Stds 3-5	1,5	36,2	32,3	23,4	0,6	31,8	20,5	25,5	0,5	30,4	16,0	27,2
Stds 6-10	81,6	30,0	38,3	15,6	73,4	38,6	57,5	27,7	64,1	43,9	61,4	33,1
Diplomas only	11,9	2,9	4,0	1,0	17,7	5,1	7,0	2,5	26,1	6,0	10,6	2,4
Degrees only	2,7	0,0	0,5	0,0	4,1	0,1	1,3	0,1	5,5	0,2	2,2	0,1
Degrees & Diplomas	1,0	0,0	0,2	0,0	1,9	0,0	0,4	0,1	2,3	0,0	0,6	0,1
Unspecified	0,5	0,9	1,0	0,2	1,1	0,8	0,7	0,7	0,8	0,2	0,3	0,3

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1989.

From Table 4.1 it is evident that economically active White females have consistently surpassed the other population groups in primary, secondary and tertiary education. During the period 1970-1985 matriculants of all population groups increased in number. According to Table 4.2 the greatest increase occurred among Black females (1233 per cent) followed by Coloured females (400 per cent) and Asian females (380 per cent), these coming off very low bases. For the years 1980 and 1985, although the number of economically active White and Asian females was lower than the number of economically active White and Asian males (Table 2.4), the proportion of matriculated economically active females exceeded that of males.

TABLE 4.2: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION ACCORDING TO  
PERCENTAGE OF MATRICULANTS FOR THE YEARS  
1970, 1980, 1985

POPULATION GROUP	SEX	1970	1980	1985
		%	%	%
Whites	M	25,1	30,2	30,8
	F	26,9	32,6	31,5
Coloureds	M	1,7	3,6	5,2
	F	0,9	2,8	4,5
Asians	M	5,3	13,0	18,0
	F	4,0	13,4	19,2
Blacks	M	0,4	1,7	3,3
	F	0,3	1,6	4,0

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1989.

The South African education system also suffers from sexual inequality. The education system, coupled with other social institutions, is less favourable to girls and women than to boys and men. In South Africa generally there are fewer female pupils. In 1986, for example, there were 3 185 356 female pupils in public schools compared with 3 193 974 males (Department of National Education, 1989: 19). The difference could be more striking were it not for a powerful countervailing trend in Black education. Black women, who typically in the past received less education than their male counterparts, have reversed this disadvantage (Carstens and du Plessis, 1987). Although in 1985 only 33 per cent of Black females possessed some secondary school education, they exceeded the proportion of males. The same holds true when we consider the proportion of matriculants since 1970.

However, at the tertiary level women are under-represented by comparison with males. In 1986 there were 95 688 full-time equivalent (FTE) male students enrolled at universities



in South Africa and only 70 143 female FTEs (Department of National Education, 1985: 85). Although there are fewer women students than men, they tend to achieve better results, as recent research at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, indicates. An even greater fall-off occurs at the postgraduate level where women are significantly under-represented. At masters and doctoral levels there were only 1 708 female FTE's compared with 4 615 male FTEs (Department of National Education, 1989: 88).

Today Black education suffers from both qualitative and quantitative problems. Huge backlogs in provision, the high natural increase of the Black population and the rapid expansion of Black schooling which has been growing at 4,6 per cent per annum in the last five years all derive from the apartheid ideology. (Carstens and du Plessis, 1988: 12). Since the De Lange Report, the government has committed itself to separate but equal education for all inhabitants, evident in the budget allocations. In 1987/88 the budget of R1,487 million was 45 times greater than the R33 million of 1972/73 and 114 times greater than the R13 million of the early 1950s for whole region (Bureau of Information, 1989: 478). In the 1991 budget there was a 24 per cent increase in expenditure on education and training. An extra R28 million was allocated to the creation of new teaching posts in addition to the R53 million granted to the Department of Education and Training to create 1 500 new posts. The teacher/pupil ratio has improved at both primary and secondary school levels. Despite the low standard 10 pass rate, since 1987 Blacks with standard 10 certificates have outnumbered Whites (Carstens and du Plessis, 1988: 16).

Since 1984 controls have been relaxed on student admissions to universities and this has made it easier for Black students to enter White institutions. The proportion of Blacks in education colleges, technical colleges, technikons and universities is very much lower than that of Whites. In 1989 Blacks constituted only 3 per cent of the enrolment at

technikons and technical colleges and there were only 2,6 Black university students per 1 000 head of population compared with 31,1 White university students (Dostal, 1988: 30). In April 1991 the government abolished Section 25 of the 1955 Universities Act, which provided for the quota system (Citizen, 24 May, 1991). In May 1991 the Education Renewal Strategy was released. It recommended the overhauling of the existing race-based system and its replacement with a non-racial system under a single policy-making department as well as autonomous regional departments. It also recommended 7 years of compulsory, state-funded schooling after which parents would have to take increased responsibility for financing their children's education. The more effective use of infrastructure, including teacher-training colleges and school buildings, was recommended. In June 1991 teacher training colleges and other such tertiary institutions were opened to all race groups as part of the process of rationalisation, and since the demand for more White and Asian teachers has subsided.

Over the years the quality of Asian and Coloured education has gradually improved. Black education is still of a fairly low standard. Many of the problems encountered in Black education centre on huge backlogs in provision, inadequate number of teachers, low qualifications and poor morale of the teaching force. A combination of all these factors has served to lower the quality of Black schooling and to limit the access of Blacks to university education.

The contribution of women to high-level manpower has steadily increased over the decade. In 1985 White women were the second largest source of high-level manpower. Black and Coloured females constituted 60 per cent of high-level manpower in their respective population groups. Asian women's contribution to high-level manpower has also increased since 1987 from approximately 5 per cent to 12 percent in 1985 (Erwee, 1989: 16).

Analysis of the ratio of male/female enrolments at Technikons shows that more men than women prefer to study at these institutions. Women seem to prefer university training. The continually increasing number of women entering universities, however, emphasises their interest in obtaining higher educational and professional qualifications and underlines the country's investment in female human capital (Coetzee: 1977: 31-33).

#### 4.3.1 Occupation by Level of Education

Research done in the early 1980s in South Africa suggest that education explains up to 75 per cent of the occupational level differences between men and women (Terreblanche, Jacobs and van Pletzen, 1983: 167-183). We now examine occupation by level of education of the female population according to race. This is done with the help of Table 4.3.

TABLE 4.3: OCCUPATION BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION FOR FEMALES

LEVEL OF OCCUPATION	PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL & RELATED WORKER				ADMINISTRATION & MANAGERIAL WORKER			
	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS	WHITES	COLOUREDS	ASIANS	BLACKS
Standard 8	8,0	21,4	10,8	26,2	22,0	28,7	12,8	22,2
Standard 9	1,9	2,9	4,5	5,4	6,5	4,7	6,5	2,7
Standard 10	17,7	10,4	21,8	13,5	39,2	16,3	20,8	8,7
Diploma with Standard or Lower	4,8	35,8	9,7	27,2	2,5	8,7	2,1	12,7
Diploma with Standard 10	42,1	15,4	34,7	10,8	13,1	5,6	3,6	6,0
Degree	21,0	1,8	11,8	1,2	7,3	0,2	2,1	2,0

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1988.

Two broad occupational groups are considered, namely i) professional, technical and related and ii) administrative and managerial. According to the Central Statistical Services (1985b) in the professional, technical and related groups a total of 32,4 per cent of White males were degreed and 28,3 per cent possessed diplomas, while 21,1 per cent of females were degreed and 42,1 per cent possessed diplomas. In the Coloured population 10,4 per cent of males were degreed and 37,6 per cent had diplomas whilst 1,8 per cent of females were degreed and 15,4 per cent had diplomas. The proportion for the Asian population are similar to those for Whites, that is 33 per cent of males were degreed and 29,5 per cent had diplomas while 11,8 per cent females were degreed and 34,7 per cent had diplomas. For Blacks 4,6 per cent of males possessed degrees and 15 per cent diplomas while 1,2 per cent possessed of females degrees and 10,8 per cent diplomas. Thus educationally males are more advantaged than their female counterparts. However, the percentage of degreed White females is closer to that of Asian males. The percentage of degreed White and Asian females, exceeds the number of degreed Black and Coloured females.

Three categories within the professional, technical and related group contain a large female element. These are the teaching profession; the medical, dental and related worker groups; and the professional and technical groups. In 1985 more than half of all White female teachers (64,8 per cent) and Asian female teachers (50,2 per cent) possessed diplomas, and a quarter of the White females and tenth of the Asians degrees. Almost a tenth of Black female teachers possessed diplomas and almost a fifth of Coloured female teachers. A very negligible portion of both the latter group possessed degrees. The important thing to emerge from this is that almost 20 per cent of White female teachers were postgraduates, while almost a fifth of Black female teachers had less than standard 8 education. If, in accordance with the government ruling of 1983, a qualified teacher is regarded as having a school-leaving certificate and three years professional training, then 87 per cent of Black teachers were underqualified (Cooper et al, 1988: 40-49).

In the medical, dental and related fields (including nursing) a third of the White females possessed diplomas and a tenth degrees. For Asian females, a fifth possessed diplomas and a tenth degrees. A tenth of Coloureds and Blacks possessed diplomas.

In the professional and technical group, almost half of the White and Asian female groups possessed degrees, and a tenth of the population groups diplomas.

Also, the percentage of females with degrees in the categories of life scientist, economist, statistician, jurist, journalist and artist is high, although the women constitute a very small number. This is particularly true for White females and to a smaller degree Asian females.

When we turn to the second category, that is administrative and managerial groups, it is evident that males tend to dominate. The small number of females in the managerial field can be attributed to stereotyped thinking of women as incapable of performing at a managerial level.

Analysis of university of enrolment figures shows that while women were well represented in a variety of study disciplines, most still opted for the arts degrees. Figures for the University of Witwatersrand for 1989 compared to 1988 (in parenthesis) showed that 66 per cent of all arts students were women (65 per cent); 39 per cent science (38,4 per cent); 51 per cent medicine (49,5 per cent); 6 per cent engineering (5,6 per cent); 32 per cent commerce (27,6 per cent); 39 per cent law (35,9 per cent); 20,9 per cent dentistry (18,6 per cent); 26 per cent architecture (24,3 per cent); 65 per cent education (66,5 per cent) and 26 per cent business administration (21,8 per cent). The figures apply to undergraduates and postgraduate students. At the University of Witwatersrand 41 per cent of the total student population was female (Financial Mail: 1990).

There are no factors preventing White female students and to a lesser extent Asian female students, from studying the sciences. Black female students, however, have a genuine reason for avoiding from these disciplines. Because of the lack of suitably qualified teachers and adequate facilities, most Black students do not study mathematics and science at school. Thus they are unable to enter the faculties of commerce, engineering and medicine at university. Furthermore, science and mathematics are absent from the curricula of 58 per cent of Black schools and 60 per cent Coloured of schools (Hofmeyr and Moulder, 1987: 36). The small percentage of Blacks in scientific posts must be attributed to the fact that most Black students at university study the human rather than the natural sciences.

Not more than 2 to 3 per cent of participants on university management programmes, such as MBAs, are women. However, while most men on such programmes are funded by employers, most women participants sponsor themselves. Professor Erwee initiated the 'Women as Executives' programme last year at Pretoria University, which has received corporate interest - 95 per cent of women taking the course are sponsored by their companies.

Goosen (1981: 127) estimates that women on average must work for 13 years after graduation to make good the amount of time expended on their first degree at university, plus income forgone during training before they could positively contribute to the country's economy. Such training may have had non-material and indirect value in terms of family and community improvements, but the country's need for certain skilled levels of labour points to a need to re-examine the cost effectiveness of such training.

Thus at present women can offer a high level of educational sophistication which places them in a better bargaining position in the labour market. This should be seen as a temporary advantage and women who anticipate a future work role need to be more selective in the kind of training they obtain.

#### 4.4 DISTRIBUTION OF SKILLS

We now turn to the occupational structure of the economically active population according to population group, for the years 1970, 1980 and 1985. This is done with the use of ten broad categories in Table 4.4. Tables 4.5, 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8 show the sexual composition of the professional, semi-professional and technical groups of the White, Coloured, Asian and Black labour force from 1965 to 1985. The Biennial Manpower Surveys of the Department of Manpower for the period 1965 to 1979 and the South African Labour Statistics, were used to quantify the occupation structures and changes in manpower. The percentage for the various occupational groups in a sector may vary considerably from survey to survey. It is known that changes in the occupational structure occur very slowly and that large variations must be ascribed to sample variation and classification problems.

Tables 4.4 to 4.8 indicate that changes in the occupational structure follow the general trend of industrialised countries in the West. Professional workers, managerial workers, clerical and service workers show a relative increase, while artisans, production workers and labourers a decrease.



TABLE 4.4: OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE POPULATION

OCCUPATION		YEAR											
		WHITES			COLOURED			ASIANS			BLACKS		
		1970	1980	1985	1970	1980	1985	1970	1980	1985	1970	1980	1985
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Professional, technical & related workers	T	15,4	19,8	22,0	36,0	5,7	5,5	5,6	8,9	10,4	1,6	3,4	3,6
	F	18,0	21,7	23,0	6,1	8,7	7,9	9,4	12,0	13,0	2,8	5,9	6,5
Administrative & managerial workers	T	5,3	7,3	11,43	0,1	0,3	0,8	1,2	2,0	4,2	0,0	0,0	0,2
	F	1,1	1,9	5,5	0,0	0,1	0,6	0,3	0,5	1,5	0,0	0,0	0,0
Clerical & related workers	T	27,0	27,1	31,4	5,0	7,6	12,0	14,0	21,1	32,6	1,6	3,8	6,0
	F	54,1	55,2	60,0	4,0	9,0	17,0	9,0	23,2	36,0	0,3	2,5	6,7
Sales workers	T	10,3	9,8	3,2	3,3	3,8	4,2	17,0	14,6	4,7	1,4	3,0	5,6
	F	12,6	10,3	1,6	3,7	5,0	0,6	11,4	0,4	0,6	1,0	4,6	0,2
Service workers	T	6,7	7,9	7,7	17,6	16,5	16,0	8,7	6,5	5,5	18,0	19,8	21,0
	F	5,7	6,0	5,1	41,5	32,5	28,7	10,2	7,1	5,0	36,8	43,0	41,8
Farming, forestry workers fishermen & hunters	T	6,3	4,8	3,8	16,9	17,0	16,3	3,7	2,2	1,3	40,3	20,1	18,0
	F	0,9	0,7	0,5	4,0	8,7	9,9	1,3	0,8	0,3	43,8	16,0	14,5
Production related workers & labourers	T	26,0	21,8	6,9	44,6	41,1	23,0	41,3	40,0	23,1	30,6	38,4	24,7
	F	3,8	2,7	1,2	29,4	25,0	20,5	37,6	39,0	27,1	4,3	10,4	7,8
Workers not elsewhere classified	T	3,0	1,5	1,5	8,7	8,0	8,0	8,5	4,7	9,2	6,5	11,5	13,2
	F	3,8	1,5	1,6	11,2	11,0	10,0	20,8	6,0	13,2	11,0	17,5	20,1
Tradesmen & apprentices	T			12,0			5,9			6,6			1,2
	F			1,5			0,8			1,0			0,3
Labourers	T			0,2			8,3			2,4			6,5
	F			0,0			4,0			2,3			2,0
Total Economically Active	T	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	F	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1988

TABLE 4.5: SEXUAL COMPOSITION OF THE PROFESSIONAL, SEMI-PROFESSIONAL & TECHNICAL OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF THE WHITE LABOUR FORCE FROM 1965 TO 1985

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	SEX	1965	1967	1969	1971	1973	1975	1977	1979	1980	1985
1.Architects, etc	M	98,09	95,75	98,90	96,50	96,93	97,75	97,29	97,54	91,6	91,2
	F	1,91	4,25	1,10	3,50	3,07	2,59	2,71	2,45	8,4	8,8
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
2.Engineers, etc	M	99,91	99,80	99,90	99,78	99,86	99,83	99,61	99,57	97,2	87,9
	F	0,09	0,20	0,10	0,22	0,14	0,17	0,39	0,43	2,8	12,1
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
3.Surveyors, etc	M	100,00	99,53	100,00	99,79	100,00	99,47	99,85	99,37	97,2	96,5
	F	0,0	0,47	0,0	0,21	0,0	0,53	0,15	0,63	2,8	13,5
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
4.Natural Scientists	M	94,83	54,44	94,29	93,32	67,83	85,30	87,36	85,26	69,6	80,5
	F	5,17	5,56	5,71	6,68	12,17	14,70	12,70	14,74	30,4	19,5
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
5.Medical Doctors, Dentists, Vets	M	96,37	96,14	95,91	93,41	92,63	93,06	91,65	92,99	71,0	62,8
	F	3,63	3,86	4,09	6,59	7,37	6,94	8,35	7,01	29,0	37,2
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
6.Nurses & Midwives	M	7,39	6,50	5,93	5,92	4,30	4,34	3,23	3,35	4,0	3,0
	F	92,61	93,50	94,07	94,08	95,70	95,16	96,77	96,65	96,0	97,0
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
7.Other Para-medical Workers	M	66,50	67,40	62,11	59,10	56,23	49,50	49,72	52,44	53,12	44,2
	F	33,50	32,60	37,89	40,90	43,17	50,20	50,28	47,56	46,58	55,8
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
8.Engineering Technicians	M	97,00	97,61	98,01	97,16	97,45	96,71	96,78	96,54	94,5	95,7
	F	3,00	2,39	1,99	2,84	2,55	3,29	3,22	3,46	5,5	4,3
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
9.Other Technicians	M	82,91	84,71	83,20	80,50	76,02	74,19	74,45	98,00	80,3	83,4
	F	17,09	15,29	6,80	19,50	21,98	25,81	25,55	22,00	19,7	16,6
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
10.Attorneys, Advocates, etc	M	97,79	98,56	98,42	96,91	96,31	96,50	94,445	94,87	93,5	90,3
	F	2,21	1,44	1,56	3,09	3,59	3,50	5,55	5,13	6,5	9,7
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
11.Teachers, etc	M	45,73	46,11	47,95	44,40	44,92	48,76	46,66	44,85	38,3	36,7
	F	54,27	53,89	52,05	55,60	55,08	51,24	53,34	55,15	61,7	63,3
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
12.Worker in Religion	M	98,38	98,99	99,22	98,22	97,54	98,02	99,11	90,76	82,6	85,7
	F	1,62	1,01	0,78	1,78	1,98	1,98	0,89	9,24	17,4	14,3
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
13.Other Professional Workers	M	86,00	85,01	85,68	83,22	83,09	81,88	80,65	77,60	68,8	64,4
	F	14,00	14,99	14,32	16,78	16,91	18,12	19,35	22,40	31,2	35,6
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

TABLE 4.6: SEXUAL COMPOSITION OF THE PROFESSIONAL, SEMI-PROFESSIONAL & TECHNICAL OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF THE COLOURED LABOUR FORCE FROM 1965 TO 1985

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	SEX	1965	1967	1969	1971	1973	1975	1977	1979	1980	1985
1.Architects, etc	M	0,0	0,0	0,0	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	92,9	98,7
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	7,1	1,3
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
2.Engineers, etc	M	100,00	0,0	0,0	100,00	100,00	55,56	100,00	100,00	80,4	89,0
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	44,44	0,0	0,0	9,6	11,0
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
3.Surveyors, etc	M	0,0	0,0	0,0	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	91,3	97,3
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	8,7	2,7
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
4.Natural Scientists	M	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	79,17	100,00	81,61	61,42	70,7	79,9
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	20,13	0,0	18,39	38,58	29,3	20,1
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
5.Medical Doctors, Dentists, Vets	M	92,86	85,71	84,75	92,63	87,04	86,82	82,36	82,91	65,7	55,2
	F	7,14	14,29	15,25	7,37	12,96	13,18	17,14	17,09	34,3	44,8
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
6.Nurses & Midwives	M	1,59	1,86	1,71	2,80	2,66	3,62	1,06	3,83	6,0	3,2
	F	93,41	98,14	98,29	97,20	97,34	96,38	98,94	96,17	94,0	96,8
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
7.Other Para-medical Workers	M	50,00	76,09	51,06	51,92	19,11	47,87	55,16	30,77	59,4	49,4
	F	50,00	23,91	48,94	48,08	80,89	52,13	44,84	69,23	40,6	50,6
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
8.Engineering Technicians	M	100,00	78,95	92,31	100,00	99,62	97,77	99,92	99,02	91,1	91,0
	F	0,0	21,05	7,69	0,0	0,38	2,23	0,08	0,98	8,9	9,0
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
9.Other Technicians	M	90,84	88,99	85,57	80,03	77,58	73,21	74,91	73,74	91,6	77,2
	F	9,16	11,01	14,43	19,97	22,42	26,79	25,09	26,26	8,4	22,8
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
10.Attorneys, Advocates, etc	M	0,0	100,00	94,14	100,00	100,00	86,67	95,00	100,00	80,8	81,7
	F	0,0	0,0	5,50	0,0	0,0	13,33	5,00	0,0	19,2	8,3
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
11.Teachers, etc	M	51,94	56,36	53,38	55,93	41,15	53,92	38,88	36,96	41,3	38,0
	F	48,06	43,64	46,62	44,07	58,85	46,03	61,12	63,04	58,7	62,0
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
12.Worker in Religion	M	82,93	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	98,21	98,82	58,06	82,9	84,3
	F	17,07	17,07	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,79	1,18	41,94	17,1	15,7
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
13.Other Professional Workers	M	63,23	45,19	63,23	68,81	66,99	53,04	64,49	67,34	61,9	62,5
	F	36,77	54,81	35,77	31,19	33,01	46,96	35,51	32,66	38,1	37,5
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

TABLE 4.7: SEXUAL COMPOSITION OF THE PROFESSIONAL, SEMI-PROFESSIONAL & TECHNICAL OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF THE ASIAN LABOUR FORCE FROM 1965 TO 1985

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	SEX	1965	1967	1969	1971	1973	1975	1977	1979	1980	1985
1.Architects, etc	M	100,00	0,0	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	90,2	95,9
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	9,8	4,1
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
2.Engineers, etc	M	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	94,12	100,00	100,00	92,5	95,0
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	5,88	0,0	0,0	7,5	5,0
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
3.Surveyors, etc	M	0,0	0,0	0,0	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	96,4
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	3,6
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
4.Natural Scientists	M	100,00	100,00	100,00	93,75	76,83	90,55	88,43	92,73	84,0	81,6
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	6,25	23,17	9,45	11,57	7,27	16,0	18,4
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
5.Medical Doctors, Dentists, Vets	M	88,79	91,56	95,83	84,52	96,32	95,21	88,03	88,72	81,7	77,3
	F	11,21	8,44	4,17	15,48	3,68	4,79	11,97	11,28	18,3	22,7
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
6.Nurses & Midwives	M	7,69	9,00	5,61	12,18	9,25	5,51	3,53	2,04	6,0	4,2
	F	92,31	91,00	94,39	87,82	90,75	94,49	96,47	97,96	94,0	95,8
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
7.Other Para-medical Workers	M	85,37	7,31	56,98	69,44	48,43	51,89	47,18	57,41	73,8	56,9
	F	14,63	27,69	43,02	30,56	51,57	48,11	52,82	42,59	26,2	43,1
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
8.Engineering Technicians	M	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	99,01	95,8	96,0
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,99	4,2	4,0
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
9.Other Technicians	M	97,78	95,83	93,66	89,43	88,61	90,09	75,84	90,63	92,6	85,0
	F	2,22	4,17	6,34	10,57	11,39	9,91	24,16	9,37	7,4	15,0
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
10.Attorneys, Advocates, etc	M	100,00	100,00	90,54	100,00	85,00	95,00	99,48	80,82	87,3	79,0
	F	0,0	0,0	9,46	0,0	15,00	5,00	0,52	19,18	12,7	21,0
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
11.Teachers, etc	M	71,58	69,88	70,42	68,18	67,15	64,78	62,93	59,56	58,2	54,0
	F	28,42	30,12	29,58	31,82	35,22	35,22	37,07	40,44	41,8	46,0
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
12.Worker in Religion	M	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	85,1	90,1
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	14,9	9,9
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
13.Other Professional Workers	M	100,00	80,72	89,27	86,99	89,53	77,59	70,28	83,94	79,9	76,5
	F	0,0	19,28	10,73	13,01	10,47	22,41	29,72	16,06	20,1	23,5
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

TABLE 4.8: SEXUAL COMPOSITION OF THE PROFESSIONAL, SEMI- PROFESSIONAL & TECHNICAL OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF THE BLACK LABOUR FORCE FROM 1965 TO 1985

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	SEX	1965	1967	1969	1971	1973	1975	1977	1979	1980	1985
1.Architects, etc	M	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	100,00	76,19	85,71	81,9	79,1
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	23,81	14,29	18,1	20,9
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
2.Engineers, etc	M	0,0	100,00	0,0	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	81,6	74,0
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	18,4	26,0
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
3.Surveyors, etc	M	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	97,7	92,5
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	2,3	7,5
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
4.Natural Scientists	M	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	97,92	97,38	97,13	87,3	86,4
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	2,05	2,62	2,87	12,7	13,6
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
5.Medical Doctors, Dentists, Vets	M	92,73	90,74	91,30	92,16	95,65	95,29	84,14	93,00	67,9	57,3
	F	7,27	9,26	8,70	7,84	4,35	4,71	15,86	7,00	32,1	42,7
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
6.Nurses & Midwives	M	4,58	7,03	9,24	11,37	6,61	6,92	4,79	3,99	10,7	7,7
	F	95,42	92,97	50,76	88,63	3,08	93,08	95,21	96,01	89,3	92,3
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
7.Other Para- medical Workers	M	94,12	83,85	62,01	60,65	62,99	55,59	50,52	49,54	69,9	62,5
	F	5,88	16,15	37,99	39,35	37,01	44,41	49,48	50,46	30,1	37,5
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
8.Engineering Technicians	M	80,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	97,76	100,00	91,61	96,0	86,6
	F	20,00	0,00	0,0	0,0	0,0	2,24	0,0	0,39	4,0	13,4
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
9.Other Technicians	M	98,60	97,19	96,78	94,85	96,31	95,17	94,38	92,17	97,6	85,7
	F	1,40	2,81	3,22	5,15	3,69	4,83	5,62	7,83	2,4	14,3
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
10.Attorneys, Advocates, etc	M	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	85,86	100,00	100,00	97,81	93,1	94,4
	F	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	14,14	0,0	0,0	2,19	6,9	5,6
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
11.Teachers, etc	M	55,03	46,89	50,49	49,13	48,91	47,57	44,15	41,96	45,2	35,6
	F	44,97	53,11	49,51	50,87	51,09	52,43	55,85	58,04	54,8	64,4
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
12.Worker in Religion	M	80,78	95,11	98,02	99,20	98,61	98,59	99,89	95,24	90,4	86,4
	F	19,22	4,89	1,98	0,80	1,39	1,41	0,11	4,76	9,6	13,6
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00
13.Other Profes- sional Workers	M	81,33	82,66	82,11	75,14	73,74	83,33	84,66	77,93	76,4	73,3
	F	18,67	17,34	19,89	24,86	24,26	16,67	15,34	22,7	23,6	26,7
	TOTAL	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1986.a

Table 4.4 gives the main occupations pursued by the different population groups and the changes that occurred between 1970 and 1985. In 1970 White females were in the main clerical workers (54 per cent), professional and technical personnel (18 per cent) and sales workers (12 per cent). In 1985 the proportion of females in the clerical, professional and technical occupations showed an increase, that is to 60 per cent and 23 per cent respectively while the number of managerial personnel also increased. The number of service workers stood roughly at 5 per cent in 1970 and 1985, and a decrease occurred between 1970 and 1980. Over the whole period a sharp decrease in the number of sales workers is evident.

Coloured females were clustered in the service and production related occupations constituting 41,6 per cent and 29,4 per cent respectively. In 1985, although there was a sharp decrease in these two occupational groups, they still contained a large proportion of the economically active population. The number of women in sales in 1970 was negligible, rising during 1970 and 1980 and subsequently falling to a dramatic low between 1980 and 1985. One important trend to emerge during this period was the increase in the number of Coloured women in clerical occupations.

In 1970 the majority of the Asian females were production workers (37,6 per cent), sales workers (11,4 per cent) and service workers (10,2 per cent). In later years sales workers decreased greatly and clerical workers rose considerably, as well as professional and technical workers. The number of production workers increased between 1970 and 1980 and decreased between 1980 and 1985.

In 1970 Black females dominated the service occupations (36,8 per cent) and the farm and forestry occupations (43,8 per cent). During the 15-year period a noticeable feature was the marked decrease in the number of agricultural workers (to 14,6 per cent, while the number of professional

and technical and clerical workers increased. The increases in the service and production occupations were preceded by initial decreases during the 1970/80 period.

The increase in the number of non-White professionals can be attributed to the disintegration of the colour bar, an improvement in the standard of education and the equalising of opportunities. Although non-White females constitute a negligible proportion of the managerial occupation, it is expected that the introduction of Black advancement programmes will assist in providing more managerial personnel in future.

The increase in female clerical workers has been accompanied by a decrease in the number of White male clerks. This trend has important implications for banks and building societies, which form part of this sector. These employer groups traditionally employ quite a number of standard 10 school leavers, who then receive in-house promotions; many of the managerial positions are eventually filled from this area. In the past managers were mostly White and male.

The skewed distribution of the races according to occupational structure is a consequence of the restrictive legislation underpinning enforced racial separation, job reservation, migratory labour and influx control.

Job reservation restricted specific jobs exclusively to Whites. From as early as 1913 the forces of White labour were marshalled in the industrial areas in support of a rigid colour bar in unskilled labour. The population drift from rural areas had assumed alarming proportions by the early 1920s, adding large numbers of semi-skilled labourers to the already depressed labour market in the industrial areas. Consequently the Pact Government introduced several important legislative enactments to entrench the colour bar in industry. Among these were the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1924, The Wage Act, 1925, and the Mines and Works Act, 1926. Whites were given preferential treatment in the job

market and unskilled White labour was protected by minimum wage rulings. White trade unions were endowed with the power to determine occupational structure, access to training and wage structures. On the other hand Blacks were excluded from the definition of employees, and from trade union membership and the right to negotiate at industry level. Job reservation was further reinforced during the 1950s when specific jobs were reserved for a specific group in a particular industry, trade or occupation.

The economic boom in the 1960s forced the government to adjust its labour policy as skilled labour was in short supply. The 'floating' job bar was introduced whereby Blacks were allowed to do less skilled jobs and Whites the more skilled jobs provided that:

- i) no White was replaced by a Black;
- ii) no White worked under a Black;
- iii) races were separated at work and there were separate facilities.

Furthermore, according to Lipton (1986: 33-34), alternative strategies were advocated to overcome shortage of skills. These included:

- i) re-training and upgrading of White workers, who should 'float' upwards to more skilled and senior jobs;
- ii) more White women in industry (even to the extent of doing traditionally male jobs);
- iii) increased White immigration to supplement skills;
- iv) the use of Asians and Coloureds (not Blacks) in skilled jobs if no Whites were available and with the approval of the White trade union.



A policy of industrial decentralisation to the homelands was introduced to limit Black labour in White South Africa. Since the 1970s the removal of job bars has produced small shifts in occupational structure but the effect of low education levels and the migrant labour system will take time to wear off (Brijlal, 1990: 66-75).

According to the 1987 National Manpower Commission Report, women have increased their contribution to middle-level manpower from 29 per cent in 1971 to 35,9 per cent in 1985. This is attributed mainly to the increasing proportion of Coloured, Asian and Black clerical workers. The high proportion of employees in a restricted number of jobs can lead to oversupply and redundancy in those areas of activity. Redundancy in the clerical fields can result from competition by candidates of other population groups. The dominance of women in certain occupations such as sales and clerical implies that the competition for jobs in this sector will be higher in the future and the number of unemployed persons will increase as people vie for a limited number of jobs. Redundancy in the teaching field can be caused by a decrease in birth rates of Whites, which is now becoming evident in the lower school enrolment figures leading to both smaller teaching classes and fewer teachers being required for White and Asian schools.

Non-traditional occupations are those previously virtually restricted to men, with women still in the minority. According to Tables 4.5 to 4.8 the proportion of females in occupations such as teaching and nursing is still very high, namely approximately 95 per cent in the nursing profession and 60 per cent in the teaching profession. However, it has become apparent that women's upward movement is stronger in non-traditional occupations than in traditional 'women's jobs'. The number of women in occupations such as pharmacy, accounting and engineering increased by a factor of between six and thirty per cent during the period 1971 to 1985. According to the National Manpower Commission Report (1987)

on high and middle level manpower, female nurses decreased between 1971 and 1985 from 34 per cent of all women in high-level manpower occupations to 27 per cent, while female teachers increased from 46,7 per cent to 48,2 per cent of all female high-level occupations. Furthermore, according to the 1987 NMC report, women have increased their contribution to high-level manpower from 31 per cent in 1971 to 37 per cent in 1985. The most significant increases were among scientists (from 6,7 per cent to 19,4 per cent); medical doctors (from 9 per cent to 14,5 per cent); lawyers (from 3 per cent to 11,5 per cent); accountants and auditors (5,9 per cent to 18,5 per cent) and agriculturalists (0,6 per cent to 12,8 per cent). Other growth areas include engineers, technicians, technologists, managers, administrators and supervisors.

Women in health-care professions provide a further example. Growth rates in 'new' professions (dental, medical, pharmacy, veterinary, and psychology) are high, the rate for medical auxiliaries is moderate and that for nurses is negative at 19 per cent.

The statistics reveal that the labour force is gradually becoming more integrated. The kinds of jobs that women shy away from, that is 'the unfeminine jobs', besides paying well also offer greater upward mobility. However, females tend to be very selective in their occupations and hence poorly distributed over the occupational structure.

Research done since 1964 by the South African Human Sciences Research indicates that women have no need to limit themselves to training for traditionally 'feminine' occupations. When compared with boys who wrote similar papers to girls in standard 10, girls were found to be no different in terms of their intellectual abilities. No reasons, that is, in terms of intellectual ability could be found which should keep girls from training in scientific fields such as mechanical, engineering, etc. (Terreblanche, 1981: 45-60).

#### 4.5 ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION ACCORDING TO INDUSTRY AND SEX

Table 4.9 indicates the distribution of economically active females according to industry.

The changes in distribution according to industry are similar to those in occupational structure and are a consequence of the restrictive legislation that pervaded the labour market. A third of White females were in the community, social and personal services industry in 1970 and this figure remained fairly constant over the 15-year period. A fifth to a quarter were involved in commerce, catering and accommodation services although these declined over the period. The number of females in the manufacturing industry also remained more or less constant while those in the finance, insurance and real estate industry showed an increase over the period.

Coloured females were clustered in the community, social and personal services in 1970 and despite a decrease over the period they still constituted a formidable portion of this group in 1985. The number in the manufacturing industry decreased since 1970 but it still exceeded 25 per cent of economically active Coloured women. The number involved in the agricultural sectors and commerce, catering and accommodation increased. This could be attributed to a scarcity of jobs that began to emerge from the 1980s onwards, thus forcing people to accept lower paying jobs.

Asian females were mostly employed in the manufacturing industry and, despite a decrease over the period, a third were still part of this industry in 1985. The number of females in financing, insurance and real estate increased and in commerce, catering and accommodation increased somewhat. The number in community, social and personal services remained unchanged.

TABLE 4.9: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE POPULATION ACCORDING TO INDUSTRY

OCCUPATION		YEAR											
		WHITES			COLOURED			ASIANS			BLACKS		
		1970	1980	1985	1970	1980	1985	1970	1980	1985	1970	1980	1985
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total Economically Active Population	T	100	100	100	100	100	5,5	100	100	100	100	100	100
	F	100	100	100	100	100	7,9	100	100	100	100	100	100
Agriculture, Hunting, Forestry & Fishing	T	6,4	5,4	4,5	16,3	16,3	15,8	4,0	3,1	1,9	39,6	18,7	18,7
	F	1,1	1,3	1,1	4,6	8,9	10,2	1,2	1,0	0,7	44,1	5,9	14,3
Mining & Quarrying	T	4,2	4,7	4,5	1,0	1,4	1,1	0,4	0,8	0,6	11,0	13,0	12,0
	F	0,9	1,6	1,5	0,0	0,2	0,3	0,0	0,2	0,2	0,1	0,3	0,5
Manufacturing	T	18,7	19,0	18,3	23,2	24,1	22,3	35,3	37,7	33,0	9,0	14,1	12,7
	F	13,4	13,2	12,8	28,5	26,3	25,2	40,6	46,0	36,3	3,5	8,7	8,1
Electricity, Gas & Water	T	0,9	1,6	1,6	0,5	0,7	0,7	0,1	0,5	0,2	0,5	0,8	1,0
	F	0,4	0,7	0,8	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Construction	T	6,6	5,3	5,3	11,0	8,7	9,6	5,0	4,4	4,7	5,1	4,7	6,0
	F	1,6	1,8	1,9	0,6	0,5	0,8	0,4	0,8	0,6	0,0	0,3	0,6
Commerce, Catering & Accommodation Services	T	17,9	15,7	15,4	10,7	11,1	11,5	28,0	25,4	24,0	5,4	9,6	8,3
	F	20,7	25,3	18,9	9,7	12,1	13,4	16,4	20,1	19,7	2,6	11,6	9,2
Transport & Communication	T	10,9	10,1	9,2	3,8	4,3	3,7	4,1	5,2	4,7	2,4	3,2	3,3
	F	5,9	6,0	6,1	0,4	0,5	0,5	0,5	1,2	1,2	0,0	0,5	0,4
Financing, Insurance & Real Estate	T	9,5	11,0	12,2	1,0	1,6	2,2	1,6	4,0	4,4	0,6	0,9	1,1
	F	15,4	16,6	18,4	0,6	1,6	2,7	1,3	5,2	6,7	0,2	0,6	0,8
Community, Social & Personal Services	T	21,5	25,1	25,7	22,2	23,1	21,0	12,2	13,0	13,4	19,0	23,0	22,3
	F	31,3	35,4	34,6	43,5	37,8	33,3	18,4	18,4	18,0	13,2	44,0	43,7
Unspecified	T	3,4	2,1	3,3	10,3	8,7	12,2	9,3	5,9	13,1	7,4	12,0	16,2
	F	4,7	2,7	3,9	12,1	12,1	13,5	6,6	7,1	16,6	11,6	18,1	22,4

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1988

Black females dominated the agricultural sectors in 1970 and over the period decreased dramatically while the numbers in community, social and personal services showed rapid increase. The number in the manufacturing industry also increased.

We now turn to the income structure of two of the industries with a high female component, namely manufacturing, community, social and personnel services. It is important to note that according to the 1980 census salary and wage earners were required to show their gross income for the 12 months ended 30 April 1980, that is, before deductions for pension, insurance, medical-aid schemes, etc. Furthermore income included:

- i) pensions, dividends, interest and other regular income;
- ii) the estimated cash value of fringe benefits such as company car, housing subsidy and accommodation and/or rations provided by employers.

Community, social and personal services includes public administration, educational services, welfare organisations and libraries, museums and other related industries.

Tables 4.10 and 4.11 give incomes in the manufacturing and community, social and personal services industries according to population groups and sex for 1980.

According to Table 4.9, White females in the manufacturing industry constituted 13,2 per cent of all economically active females; Coloureds 26,3 per cent; Asians 46 per cent; and Blacks 8,7 per cent. In the community, social and personal services industry White females constituted 35,4 per cent of all economically active females, Coloureds 37 per cent, Asians 18,4 per cent and Blacks 44 per cent.

TABLE 4.10: INDUSTRY BY INCOME – COMMUNITY, SOCIAL &amp; PERSONAL SERVICES (1980)

POPULATION GROUP		ANNUAL INCOME												
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
		TOTAL	NONE	2– 1199	1200– 2399	2400– 3599	3600– 5999	6000– 8399	8400– 11 999	12 000– 17 999	18 000– 29 999	30 000– 41 999	42 000+	Unknown
Whites	M	255696	2470	7429	29378	18638	42518	49854	46745	32635	14538	3083	1297	7111
	F	210873	2123	1127	20585	49306	76972	38341	11088	3627	926	124	95	6559
	T	466569	4593	8556	49963	67944	119490	88195	57833	36262	15464	3207	1392	13670
Coloureds	M	79701	910	2650	3889	12923	26176	11727	11351	4972	1880	553	254	2416
	F	134848	2155	25554	35840	25241	20406	11668	9022	679	135	43	53	4052
	T	214549	3065	28204	39729	38164	46582	23395	20373	5651	2015	596	307	6468
Asians	M	21333	119	187	186	1034	4999	4026	4423	3004	1483	941	520	411
	F	12124	160	371	847	1457	3060	2169	2791	564	133	97	33	442
	T	33457	279	558	1033	2491	8059	6195	7214	3568	1616	1038	553	853
Blacks	M	514638	7284	31075	59981	142972	174189	44242	23440	2998	1158	940	351	26008
	F	763250	11092	163632	246108	201675	78085	22778	7913	865	419	166	87	30430
	T	1277888	18376	194707	306089	344647	252274	67020	31353	3863	1577	1106	438	56438

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1988.

TABLE 4.11: INDUSTRY BY INCOME – MANUFACTURING (1980)

POPULATION GROUP		ANNUAL INCOME												
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
		TOTAL	NONE	2– 1199	1200– 2399	2400– 3599	3600– 5999	6000– 8399	8400– 11 999	12 000– 17 999	18 000– 29 999	30 000– 41 999	42 000+	Unknown
Whites	M	280302	856	4037	6567	8872	23211	51394	82569	69463	24265	3957	1383	3728
	F	83178	416	3061	4866	11984	35672	17878	5088	1502	372	54	65	2220
	T	363480	1272	7098	11433	20856	58883	69272	87657	70965	24637	4011	1448	5948
Coloureds	M	130610	868	1439	2650	12263	49165	28007	22971	7460	2037	418	156	3176
	F	93868	692	2341	4150	21241	51063	8757	2824	338	109	57	21	2275
	T	224478	1560	3780	6800	33504	100228	36764	25795	7798	2146	475	177	5411
Asians	M	65903	294	531	547	3139	21042	16432	14739	5558	1648	529	273	1171
	F	30311	191	653	824	9405	15121	2011	1116	227	62	21	13	667
	T	96214	485	1184	1371	12544	36163	18443	15855	5785	1710	550	286	1838
Blacks	M	628587	4888	9611	23122	88000	343925	104034	24664	2684	874	390	261	26134
	F	152327	1400	10478	21678	57034	49476	4874	1158	286	155	41	18	5729
	T	780914	6288	20089	44800	145034	393401	108908	25822	2970	1029	431	279	31863

Source: Central Statistical Services, 1988.

Columns 1-2 in Tables 4.10 and 4.11 can be considered to be low-income groups, 3-6 average-income group and 7-10 high-income groups. Most women employed in these two sectors fall into the low and average income groups. The distribution of all females can be summarised as follows:

1.           LOW-INCOME GROUP - MANUFACTURING AND COMMUNITY,  
             SOCIAL AND PERSONAL SERVICES
  - White   9,5 per cent and 10,3 per cent respectively;
  - Coloureds 6,9 per cent and 45,5 per cent;
  - Asians 4,9 per cent and 10 per cent;
  - Blacks 21,1 per cent and 53,7 per cent.
  
2.           AVERAGE-INCOME GROUP
  - Whites 84,9 per cent and 83,3 per cent respectively;
  - Coloureds 89,4 per cent and 49,2 per cent;
  - Asians 91,2 per cent and 78,2 per cent;
  - Blacks 74,1 per cent and 40,6 per cent.
  
3.           HIGH-INCOME GROUP
  - Whites 2,3 per cent and 2,3 per cent respectively;
  - Coloureds 0,6 per cent and 0,7 per cent;
  - Asians 1,1 per cent and 6,8 per cent;
  - Blacks 0,3 per cent and 0,2 per cent.

From the above statistics we see that there is a big disparity in the income levels of males and females, and almost 95,5 per cent of females fall into the low and average income groups. Only White and Asian females form a tiny portion of the high-income groups. This can be attributed to the higher educational qualifications of these two groups. In the manufacturing industry White females make up 35,3 per cent of the high-income group and Asians 12,1



per cent. Thus we can conclude that both income, status and vertical mobility tend to be depressed in female-dominated occupations.

#### 4.6 OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Occupational mobility is an important aspect of economic development and growth. The structure of jobs changes according to changes in capital. The barriers to upward occupational mobility are diverse and to understand them requires an understanding of the factors which have impeded the development of non-White people. Such factors include discrimination in upbringing, in education and in employment. Restrictive legislation has affected access to education and training and hence access to the acquisition of those skills which an upwardly mobile individual must possess. The restriction of Blacks to a particular area severely limited the opportunity of advancement through geographic mobility.

On the other hand Whites have been able to effectively monopolise both the economic resources and the acquisition of skills. This in turn has led not only to the lack of occupational advancement among Black people but also to the creation of an occupational hierarchy in which Whites dominate the professional, managerial and skilled positions and Blacks the unskilled positions. 'In other words a situation of minimal occupational overlap between Whites and Blacks exists' (Human, 1986: 5). Although in terms of occupational opportunity Asians and Coloureds occupy an intermediate position between Whites and Blacks, 'a maze of laws and regulations aimed at maintaining White control has historically led to a situation in which non-White upward mobility has been limited to the chosen and sponsored few' (Schlemmer, 1976: 25).

The first characteristic of the South African occupational structure is the exceedingly large number of Whites in the upper echelons of the occupational hierarchy. Shifts have

been occurring in the occupational structure as greater numbers of Blacks have moved upwards, but such shifts are insignificant if one considers the relative numbers of people from each racial group participating in the labour force. For Coloureds, Asians and Blacks the greatest amount of movement has taken place among females moving up into clerical and sales positions. Blacks remain under-represented in the professional and technical positions and the rate of their participation in these areas has been slow. Those Blacks who have taken up employment of a professional nature have done so in the teaching and nursing professions, which have historically been regarded as lower-status and lower-paid fields (Human, 1984: 34-42).

If one looks at the occupational distribution of economically active females in the labour force over the 20-year period 1960-1980, we see that 17,6 per cent and 1,8 per cent of White females were employed in the professional and technical and the administrative and managerial categories respectively. In 1970 these proportions rose to 17,9 per cent and 1,1 per cent, and in 1980 to 22 per cent and 2 per cent. Although the proportion of economically active Black females in a professional and technical capacity rose from 3 per cent in 1960 to 5,5 per cent in 1980, the number of Black female managers and administrators was still insignificant in 1980, even though there were more economically active Black females (1 754 180) in the labour force than White males (1 274 380).

However, there have been important changes in the South African labour market during the period 1976 to 1985. The stagnation in the size of the White labour force has meant that most of the increase in skilled labour has had to come from other racial groups. Awareness on the part of employers and government that additional skilled labour is needed to promote economic growth has facilitated the acceleration in educational provision for Blacks and the liberalization of racial laws and regulations pertaining to employment. Black and multiracial trade unions have been

legalised and have grown in strength. Foreign interventions have successfully campaigned for Black wage increases, Black job advancement and racially integrated pay scales.

As a result of the abovementioned factors Knight and McGrath (Applied Economics Discussion Paper Series no. 35) assert that the degree of racial discrimination in the South African labour market has declined and that the labour market has become more integrated during the period 1976-1985. In their study Knight and McGrath used cross-section data sets for 1976 and 1985 which contained information on race, sex and job-evaluated skill. Data from the "Peromnes Surveys on Remuneration formed the basis of the study. The Peromnes system of job classification which consists of 19 grades are listed below:

<u>Grades</u>	<u>Description</u>
1- 3	top executive and the most senior specialists
4- 6	senior management and high-level specialists
7- 9	middle and lower management, superintendents and lower-level specialists
10-12	supervisors and higher-level skilled and clerical staff
13-16	lower-level skilled and clerical staff
17-19	very low-skilled and unskilled workers

Each post is allocated to a grade on the basis of eight factors such as problem-solving ability, pressure of work, consequences of error judgement, knowledge, comprehension, educational qualifications and subsequent training experience.

Regression results showed that there was evidence of discrimination against non-Whites and females. The extent of discrimination against women diminished by more than half over the decade : women were paid 26.9 per cent less than men in 1976 and 10,7 per cent less than in 1985. The extent

of racial discrimination was also reduced by roughly half. In 1976 Coloureds, Asians and Blacks received respectively 37,8, 33 and 42,9 per cent less pay than Whites on account of their race alone, that is, standardising for sex and grade. The corresponding figures in 1985 were 21,2, 12,7 and 21,8 per cent respectively. The study also found that a change occurred in wage structure by grade in terms of which the standardised dispersion of pay by grade widened over the decade. In 1976 the ratio of pay in the highest grade (grade 1) to that in the medium grade (grade 10) was 3.2/1, and the ratio of pay in the medium grade to that in the lowest grade (grade 19) was 2.8/1. In 1985 the corresponding ratios were 3.9/1, and 3.4/1 respectively.

The study then looked at how the structure of real wages had changed over the decade. It was found that the real wages of Whites in jobs inferior to grade 10 fell and in jobs superior to grade 10 rose. There was also a dramatic change in the composition of Black employment and a rise in Black real wages and in jobs superior to grade 13. Wage improvement in lesser jobs was slight, given the large number of trade unions representing unskilled and semi-skilled Blacks. The intermediate group of Coloured and Asian workers showed significant gains in almost all grades.

Thus Knight and McGrath concluded that the changes over the last decade benefited Blacks in that there was a greater overlapping of skills among the races and less wage discrimination within skill categories. The degree of discrimination has diminished most in jobs which have recently been open to Blacks and in which Whites remain dominant.

Knight and McGrath cite the general adoption of job evaluation methods and a change in the racial balance of power as the main reasons for the decline in discriminatory practices.

#### 4.7 CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

The White population are the most highly qualified and consequently constitute a formidable portion of the country's high-level manpower. They perform the more skilled jobs, receive higher incomes and have the greatest degree of occupational mobility. They are followed by the Asians, whose educational attainment has increased steadily since the 1970s. In recent years the number of Black matriculants has increased, especially female. The three non-White groups therefore constitute an important source of middle-level manpower for the country.

Regarding the occupational structure of females, we notice that over 50 per cent of females are in the teaching and nursing occupations. There has been a movement into the non-traditional occupations such as pharmacy, accounting and engineering but this has been minimal. Both income and status tend to be depressed in female-dominated industries.

Restrictive legislation served to distort the occupational structure of the South African labour force. An inferior educational system left non-Whites in an acutely disadvantaged position in the job market in comparison to Whites. Pressure from both inside and outside South Africa, the report of the Wiehahn Commission and skills shortages have allowed a more stable and skilled urban work force to develop. This development has led to the creation of another characteristic of the South African occupational structure, namely a privileged group of higher status Black people.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### AN ASSESSMENT OF THE FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter summarises the conclusions of the study and analyses current manpower shortages in South Africa, the implications of future population growth and future labour market policies.

#### 5.2 BRIEF SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

- The declining fertility rate among Whites, Coloureds and Asians from the 1970s onwards has had the effect of releasing women for labour market participation. Among Blacks the fertility rate has been more or less constant. While the maintenance of a high birth rate can be viewed as a factor that is likely to restrict labour force participation, the need to augment family income is a greater concern, and will serve to encourage female labour force participation especially among Blacks where the income level is extremely low. A need for affordable child care facilities will be in great demand in future by the Black population. From another angle, increased female labour force participation will influence future fertility rates, population growth, the allocation of educational resources, the level of unemployment, rural-urban migration, wage rates and wage differentials.
- The impact of demographic factors can be seen in the differences in the participation rate of women, at least to the stage of family formation. The need to earn additional income, the higher levels of education and the desire to improve standards of living are the main reasons for higher female activity and participation rates. There has been a remarkable rise in the proportion of married women in the work-force

since the 1960s. Married women have responded to the challenge of the modern sector and its changing occupational structures, demand for labour market skills and the opportunities for vertical mobility. The participation of married women in the labour market is, however, affected by pregnancy and child care, biological aspects which are directly related to age. The tendency is to limit the number of children and to concentrate on labour market participation. However, the availability of affordable creches and child care centres will encourage more mothers to join the labour force in future.

- The educational level of the labour force gives an indication not only of its available skills but also of its trainability. The differences between the educational levels of the population groups are reflected in the occupational structure. The disparity in the levels of education between Whites and the other population groups was due to poor economic conditions, inaccessibility of better paid jobs due to discrimination in the labour market and inadequate expenditure on education. However, this situation is changing rapidly, as can be seen from the increasing proportion of matriculated Black, Coloured and Asian females in the labour force. The rising educational rates of women have been consistently followed by rising work rates and the overall effect has been a greater degree of labour force commitment with an emphasis on career development. The degree to which the population can be trained, especially the Black population, is rising rapidly. The increasing number of young people with high school education should make it possible to alleviate the skills shortage. The continued academic training of women will contribute to their increased expectations of personal development outside the home. It is clear that in the future Black, Coloured and Asian employees will occupy high-level positions requiring matriculation and post-matriculation qualifications.

- The skills needed for the production of goods and services follow the general trend in industrialised countries in that the need for skilled manpower increases while the need for the unskilled manpower decreases. Three occupational groups show an increase in the proportion of Blacks and a decrease in of Whites employed, namely, clerical, sales and production. This has important manpower planning implications for organisations such as financial institutions which employ large numbers of clerical workers. Given the declining growth rate of the White labour force, the training of other groups will have to be stepped up, especially in those fields which in the past have been the domain of Whites. This is especially true of the managerial and technical fields.
- The declining White population will result in a decline in the number of primary school pupils. Consequently the training and provision of new teachers for primary school will be affected and many teachers in the educational system for Whites will become redundant. This phenomenon will gradually extend to the secondary and tertiary levels. The same also holds for Asians. Although the Coloured population has declined, it is younger and this will result in the provision of schooling being made a priority. With the Black population exceptionally high demands will be on the educational system by the growth rate, rapid urbanisation and the youthfulness of the population. Analysts predict a marked increase in Black demand for university education. As most females are educators, redundancy may be checked as a result of the government's policy of opening all schools to all population groups.
- Manpower projection for South Africa emphasise that during the 1990s a particular need will be felt for professional, semi-professional, technical and



managerial personnel. Changing circumstances lead to the conclusion that women's employment can no longer be seen as temporary and continued female labour is necessary to maintain the economic growth rate of the country. Women have the necessary educational sophistication and work skills to meet the anticipated manpower needs of the future, but statistics reveal that women tend to be selective in their vocational preferences. However, economic needs may encourage more women to take up positions commensurate with their training abilities.

- The South African labour market has traditionally been characterised by huge racial inequality, mainly 'prior to' and 'within' the market. Non-Whites were crowded into jobs left over once Whites had taken the preferred jobs, many of which yielded scarcity rents. However, during the period 1976 to 1985 apartheid in the South African labour market has been largely eroded with the result that the labour market is now more integrated. This is consistent with the behaviour of racial wages over time. Between 1976 and 1985, the annual increase in the mean real wages of White employees averaged only 0,6 per cent whereas that of Blacks averaged 3 per cent. The ratio of Black wages thus fell from 4.6:1 to 3.7:1. Much of this narrowing can be attributed to wage increases in the Black occupations, to a reduction in wage discrimination and to the relative occupational advancement of Blacks.
- The denial of opportunities and of access to institutions or positions on the basis of race or sex is unacceptable. Women today earn 80 to 90 per cent of what men earn. It is insufficient to conceptualise the redressing of discriminatory practices in terms of putting knowledge and skills into women and expecting them to function in a White male world. While education is important, equally so are the expectations, prejudices and people management skills

of White managers, which affect on the performance of all women, especially non-White recruits. The elimination of discriminatory practices affecting women in the labour market warrants attention and there is a need to analyse the problems encountered by women in handling dual-role life commitments such as the psychological barriers that inhibit women from developing their full potential in the labour market.

- The nature of female labour supply is such that it is constantly changing and very volatile. Different factors such as age, presence of children, marriage, demand for income, education and discriminatory practices serve to either deter or encourage female labour force participation. No clear-cut statement can be made about the effects of these variables or of the future female labour supply. Thus a part-time labour force will be a reliable basis for the projection of future womanpower supplies.

### 5.3 POPULATION GROWTH

Population projections depend on assumptions about fertility, mortality and emigration.

According to Mostert, van Tonder and Hofmeyr (1988: 55-85) two projections regarding the Black population are possible:-

- i) The one projection assumes that the TFR for Blacks will reach the replacement level of 2,1 per cent by 2030-2035, and that there will be a sharp drop in the TFR from 2015-2020.
- ii) The high projection assumes that there will not be a sharp decline during this projection and the TFR will experience a slow decline to 3,5 per cent in 2030-2035.

Both projections assume that the fertility rates of women aged 15-19 and 20-24 will start to decline only during 2005-2010, while the declining fertility trends of the past among women aged 25 and older will continue, although the two projections provide for a difference in the tempo of decline.

Since 1977, the TFR for the White population has been fluctuating around the replacement level, but there are indications of a downward trend (Mostert, van Tonder, Hofmeyr, 1988: 60-63). Two projections were undertaken for Whites. The high projection assumed that the TFR would decline to just below 2 per cent in 1985-1990 before reaching the replacement level at the beginning of the next century when this level would be maintained. The low projection assumed that the TFR would decline to 1,8 per cent in 1990 and 1995 before starting to rise during the first decade of the next century to reach and maintain the replacement level of the year 2020.

Fertility declined rapidly during the last two decades among both Asians and Coloureds. One can assume that the declining fertility trend will continue for both population groups but that the rate of decline will slow down. For both groups two projections were undertaken. The high projection assumed that Asians would reach the level of replacement fertility during the period 2000-2005, and Coloureds during 2015-2020. A low projection estimated that a TFR of 2,1 per cent would be reached 5 years earlier by Asians and 10 years earlier by Coloureds, and assumed that fertility would drop to below replacement level for White.

Since elective abortion is not available in South Africa, it is not expected that the TFR for Asians, Whites and Coloureds will reach the low levels of many European countries.

### 5.3.1 The Population Projections

Table 5.1 indicates that projections with low fertility assumptions will lead to a total population of 94 million in the year 2035, while the population will increase to 119 million should the high fertility assumptions be realised.

On low fertility assumptions, Whites, will number 5,755 million in 2030 and then decline. The other three population groups will still experience growth after 2035. With high fertility assumptions, there will still be growth among all four population groups after 2035. Even with the low projection, growth among blacks after 2035 will remain high.

The high growth of the Black population, according to both fertility assumptions, is clear. The differences between the high and low projections of the three non-White population groups are minimal. Therefore one can conclude that Blacks will be a very large population compared with the three non-Black groups.

TABLE 5.1: PROJECTED GROWTH OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATION  
(MILLIONS)

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	ASIANS	BLACKS	COLOURED	WHITES
Low Fertility Assumptions					
1990	39,506	0,959	30,289	3,237	5,021
2000	51,173	1,096	40,966	8,805	5,307
2010	64,381	1,203	53,375	4,273	5,529
2020	76,996	1,309	65,308	4,681	5,697
2030	89,083	1,385	76,833	5,110	5,755
2035	94,380	1,410	81,943	5,273	5,754
High Fertility Assumptions					
1990	39,527	0,961	30,289	3,245	5,031
2000	51,420	1,108	41,044	3,856	5,413
2010	66,542	1,235	55,155	4,417	5,736
2020	85,219	1,355	72,943	4,947	5,975
2030	107,076	1,445	94,051	5,454	6,126
2035	118,881	1,479	105,566	5,665	6,171

Source: Mostert, van Tonder & Hofmeyer, 1988.

### 5.3.2 Implications of Future Population Growth

A summary of the expected growth, with lower fertility projections, of people of different ages is presented in Table 5.2.

TABLE 5.2: PROJECTIONS OF SPECIFIC CATEGORIES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATION  
(LOW PROJECTION FIGURES IN 1000s)

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	ASIANS	WHITES	COLOURED	BLACKS
Population Structure					
1990	100	2,4	12,7	8,2	76,7
2010	100	1,9	8,6	6,6	82,9
2030	100	1,6	6,5	5,7	86,2
Percentage youth (0-14 years)					
1990	39,7	30,7	22,8	33,4	43,4
2010	36,4	22,7	19,3	26,2	39,3
2030	27,4	20,7	19,1	21,8	28,5
Percentage elderly (65 years & older)					
1990	3,8	3,2	8,7	3,5	3,0
2010	4,3	7,1	12,1	5,2	3,4
2030	6,7	13,3	17,2	10,9	5,5
Number of people to reach age 6					
1990	1072,9	20,2	79,3	72,2	901,2
2010	1664,4	17,4	69,4	73,5	1504,1
2030	1654,7	19,5	73,6	76,1	1485,5
Number of people 6-18 years					
1990	11868,2	250,8	1035,2	892,6	9689,6
2010	19264,1	245,2	931,8	1015,4	17071,7
2030	20918,3	250,0	954,9	923,2	18790,2
Number of people to reach age 19 years					
1990	779,2	19,3	88,7	70,6	600,6
2010	1259,1	20,0	73,5	80,1	1085,5
2030	1545,2	18,7	72,6	67,8	1386,1
Number of people 19-64 years					
1990	19027,3	556,1	3068,8	1757,8	13624,6
2010	32827,7	766,1	3502,6	2610,9	25948,1
2030	52439,4	837,1	3371,1	3168,3	45062,9
Number of people 65 years & older					
1990	1503,4	30,9	438,5	114,2	919,8
2010	2792,2	85,0	667,4	220,4	1819,4
2030	5972,8	184,8	991,5	557,9	4238,6

Source: Mostert, van Tonder & Hofmeyer, 1988.

With regard to the structure of the four population groups it is obvious that the relative share of the three non-White population groups will be significantly reduced while there will be a sharp increase in the percentage of Blacks.

The expected reduction in fertility among all four population groups will cause the population to grow older. The proportion of young people will drop sharply, while there will be an increase in the proportion of the elderly. Population aging will be much more extensive among the three non-Black population groups. The proportion of young people among the non-Black population groups will vary from about 19 to 22 per cent.

The number of people who will attain school-going age (6 years) and those who will be part of the school-going age group (6 to 18 years) will, however, remain fairly constant among the three non-Black population groups, while sharp increases can be expected among Blacks.

The proportion of people in the economically active age group (19 to 64 years) and those who have reached 19 years of age will increase very rapidly. The annual number of people to join the work-force will double from 0,78 to 1,55 million between the years 1990 to 2030, while those in the economically active age group will increase from about 19 million to 32 million to 52 million.

It is further expected that the number of people to join the work-force annually will decrease gradually among the three non-Black population groups, in comparison to a great increase among Blacks. Little growth is predicted among the White work force (age 19-64). An increase in the work-force among Asians and Coloureds is expected owing to their current youthful age structure, while this is expected to be threefold among Blacks between 1900 and 2030.

#### 5.4 MANPOWER SHORTAGES

In any industrialising country an important trend for manpower purposes is that the proportion of people employed in skilled occupations increases as industrialisation proceeds. South Africa suffers a double economic imbalance: a huge oversupply of unskilled workers together with increasing demand for skilled manpower despite a low economic growth rate. Table 5.3 shows predictions by Sadie (1986) of available manpower at different levels: serious shortages of high-level manpower and surpluses of low-level manpower are evident. In the same vein the 1989 National Manpower Commission Report revealed high vacancy rates in the professional, semi-professional and technical occupations (4,8 per cent) and also among artisans and apprentices (3,1 per cent).

TABLE 5.3: PREDICTIONS BY SADIE (1986) OF THE FUTURE SUPPLY OF HIGH, MIDDLE AND LOW LEVELS OF MANPOWER, 1980 TO 2000

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS	PROPOSED SUPPLY	PROPOSED DEMAND	SHORTAGE/SURPLUS
Managers— Entrepreneurs	94 000	197 000	-103 000
Professional— Technical	701 000	1 143 000	-442 000
Middle—Level Manpower	2 496 000	2 500 000	-5 000
Low—Level Manpower	3 796 000	1 028 000	+2 768 000

Source: Bureau of Market Research, 1986



Sadie's projections are based on a 4,5 per cent economic growth rate. In the event of this growth rate not materialising, smaller shortages in the higher level will result. However, at lower levels this will result in a bigger surplus.

Job openings at the skilled-manpower level will exceed supply by no less than 500 000 in the next decade. During the 1990s there is likely to be a shortfall of at least 100 000 people in the top management category and a shortage of 400 000 professional and technical people.

The Institute of Futures Research (1988) compared the demand and supply of manpower based on a 3 per cent growth rate and the indications are also that by the year 2000 the demand for high-level management will overtake the supply.

Both projected growth rates are higher than that which actually occurred in the South African economy which had only realised a growth rate of 1,8 per cent from 1986 onwards. In this case the demand for skilled labour will actually be less than what is projected by Sadie and others.

It is obvious that if women are suitable to fill the projected shortages of different categories of jobs, particularly in the professional and technical areas, then the country as a whole would benefit. The investment in university education for women is already considerable and realisation of this investment would benefit both the individual and the economy of the country. More efforts will have to be made to train females to meet the anticipated shortages.

## 5.5 IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE LABOUR MARKET POLICIES

Large numbers of women have, over many years, entered the male-dominated world of work and it is generally accepted that the South African economy can no longer function effectively without the contributions made by women. Women,

however, are underutilised in the labour force and under-represented in management positions. Especially within the ranks of married women there is a vast pool of high-level skills that could be harnessed. Awareness thus continues to grow of the need to eliminate all forms of discrimination (both direct and indirect) against women in the job market and to improve their overall economic and social status for the benefit of society as a whole.

We now examine some of the policies and practices required to alleviate the plight of women and to encourage females into the labour market in view of the shortage of professional and technical personnel.

#### 5.5.1 Employers and Child care

Employers should be encouraged to recognise not only the presence of women and their economic contribution to the economy and the family but also their biological contribution to the country, and help with the children. The emerging thinking in Britain and the United States is that child care facilities will replace the company car as the benefit of the 1990s. While this may seem irrelevant here since few women have the benefit of a company car, this might be the place where change could come from the top down. Once women at managerial level start negotiating child care facilities as part of their salary packages, the effect will trickle down.

In South Africa there is a sizeable reservoir of women who have received considerable investment in terms of education and training and who have never returned to work since having children. There are others who have suffered skills loss through years of professional inactivity while rearing children, and others who are performing mundane work well below their skills level because it is the only part-time work available which fits in with their children's school hours. There are many possible reasons why qualified women do not return to work after having children:

- i) Some women believe that it is their duty to bring up their children themselves, and therefore voluntarily abandon their careers. Obviously these women are not part of the reservoir referred to above.
- ii) Some find that child bearing puts them at such a disadvantage when re-entering the work-force that they cannot resume work at their previous level.
- iii) Inflexibility of working hours and conditions, and a lack of suitable child care facilities can make a dual-career (working and child rearing) extremely difficult and in some cases impossible.

The whole question of whether mothers, particularly those with children under 3 years, should work and place their children in other care is a highly emotional issue. Many people take a firm stance either for or against working mothers, and employers also have strong views on this matter which will affect their attitude to the day-care issue. However, two facts are inescapable:

- i) The decision should rest with the mother herself and should not be taken on her behalf by employers or anybody else
- ii) Some women have to work for economic reasons, and others want to further their careers, and have the ability to do so if given a helpful work environment.

If humanitarian arguments do not persuade managers to adapt their thinking on this important issue, perhaps economic pressure will. Working mothers can make a useful contribution to the economy, and are likely to be productive and loyal employees. Employers who could once afford to overlook the needs of child bearing women will soon discover

that competitors who are prepared to adapt in the work-place to accommodate this group of employees will have the edge on them in attracting skilled personnel from this reservoir.

However, it must be borne in mind from the outset that it is expensive to provide good quality day care. This problem is further aggravated by the fact that the government is cutting back on providing pre-school education and working in the direction of privatisation of welfare services. The result is that good day care is becoming increasingly hard to find and more and more mothers are resorting to leaving infants with domestic workers or day mothers.

Child care concerns undoubtedly affect the mother's (and father's) ability to concentrate on their work and thus have their effect on absenteeism, tardiness, labour turnover and lower work performance. Day-care therefore becomes as much a problem of the employer as the employee.

- Employers should acknowledge the biological role of females. This challenge is twofold in that employers should provide the opportunity for re-entry of mothers to the world of work and assistance with day-care issues. The establishment of an on-site day-care facility is the most apparent option, but the most expensive. According to Win Bryant (1990: 17), there are other options which would better meet the needs of employees.

The three options that she proposes are as follows:-

1) Resource and Referral Services

In this instance the employer contracts with an agency to provide employees with child care consultation and makes available lists of local child care resources. However, this option is only practicable where there are adequate community resources to meet employees' needs.

ii) Payment for Child care

This system is suitable when community resources are adequate but beyond the means of the employees. It can be provided in three ways.

The employer can subsidise the cost of child care to employees by means of a voucher system or refunds on payments.

The employer can purchase posts in existing community facilities which are then exclusively reserved for children of employees, and these can be made available at cost or a subsidised rate.

The employer can contribute towards the running costs and equipment of such facilities to reduce the cost to its employees.

iii) Direct Involvement in Providing Day-Care

Three types of involvement feature here:-

The company can establish its own facility on-site or elsewhere.

The company can enter a partnership with other nearby companies to provide such a facility.

An official of the company can organise and supervise a day-care network of care givers in the neighbourhood.

These options are designed to meet the needs of parents with pre-school children, but the needs of older children may also need attention. However, it may be possible to use existing recreational facilities to provide after-school or holiday care if it is required.

### 5.5.2 Adjustments to Worklife

Working hours can be modified to reduce the number of hours of separation from children through part-time or shared posts or longer day, shorter week arrangements. The advantage of flexi-time is that it can allow parents time off for sickness or attending school functions. Flexi-place is also possible in some jobs and this allows the parent to work from home when the child is ill. A company will need to employ a combination of some of these options to satisfy different needs and circumstances of their branches.

A responsive approach by the company to the advancement of women implies the end of alienation, low job satisfaction, poor decision making and lost resources. During the past decade a trend towards equalising opportunity for women and minorities in South Africa has emerged. According to Professor Ronel Erwee (1989: 4-7), remedying the situation requires a fundamental change in attitude, such that women are seen as a source of high-level manpower. She suggests the following means of equalising opportunities at a national and company level:

#### i) Eliminate Job Segregation

Job segregation usually maintains women in lower-level jobs. Such trends can be identified by analysing work-force profiles as well as career-advancement profiles.

#### ii) Change Closed Promotion Procedures

Closed promotion allows line managers, if they wish, to draw up an internal list of male candidates. Since the vacancy is not advertised in the company, women are unaware of the opportunity and cannot ask to be considered. Promotions are then determined by preferences rather than merit.

iii) Grant Access to Training Opportunities

'Limited access to training opportunities prevents women from upgrading their skills and hampers their upward mobility' (Erwee, 1989: 4). Managers wrongly assume that women are not interested in careers and do not nominate professional women for specialised training. In other cases women have been refused study or examination leave for CA examinations. If this trend continues and if women are viewed as a short term investment, their participation in internal training courses is curtailed.

iv) Allow Access to Advancement Programmes

Special programmes should be introduced to create opportunities for women workers. Since women are not envisaged in managerial positions, employees are hesitant to nominate them for advancement programmes-especially if they think that women are not geographically mobile. Often unbroken service in the company is used as a criterion for selection to the programme and career breaks by a professional women disqualify her. However, the introduction of advancement programmes should not be seen to stigmatise those who can benefit from them.

v) Allow Unbiased Job and Professional Evaluation

If job analysis is undertaken, managers may realise that many jobs need not be male preserves (for example accounting and engineering). Criteria applied to job and performance schemes in a biased way will result in women achievers not being timeously identified. If the schemes are not free of sexual bias, they will eventually result in inequality of remuneration. The

practice of equal remuneration for male and female personnel for work of equal value should be adhered to.

#### 5.5.3 Role of Trade Unions.

Trade unions are one of the means by which working women along with all other workers can defend and promote their legitimate rights to employment with adequate remuneration in safe and healthy working conditions. Trade unions around the world are realising the importance of women's involvement in trade union activities.

There has also been a shift in awareness on the part of trade unions to embrace many aspects of social and economic participation. Very often unions are involved in organising and running welfare programmes and self-help schemes, community development projects, literacy and vocational training, and health and family centres. They are dealing with a whole range of issues which can improve women's contribution to the labour market: child care schemes, maternity and pre-natal leave, the situation of part-time and temporary workers and homeworkers, the effects of technological change on women's jobs, female unemployment, measures to eliminate sexual harassment in the workplace, women's access to work, educational and vocational training and retraining, organisation of women's work and so on.

There is still a great deal that can and should be done by trade unions to improve the employment and living conditions of women workers. This role is especially important in view of the continuing economic crisis which is threatening the gains already made in favour of women workers.

The 1985 International Labour Conference resolution on equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women in employment stressed that 'positive action should be taken by governments, employers' and workers' organisations to ensure that women have access to all positions and participate



fully with men in social, economic and political life, as well as in public institutions and bodies, including the national and international levels' (ILO,1988: 2).

#### 5.5.4 Career Planning

The choice of a career and choice of seeking self-fulfilment ultimately rests with the individual and her will to progress. 'Analysis of potential or real psychological barriers within women themselves which keep them from developing their potential and from realising the investment made in their potential skills is necessary to enable improved guidance and counselling of women at different stages of their lives in relation to career development' (van Rooyen, 1980;a). Therefore addressing factors internal to women themselves which may inhibit their performance and development to meet job demands is vital in resolving possible conflict affecting women in their work tenure and work commitment.

#### 5.6 CONCLUSION

From the analyses and discussions in this dissertation the changing nature of female labour supply in South Africa can be summarized as follows:

The demographic transition of the population shows that there are declining tendencies among the Whites, Coloureds and Asians, while the fertility rate among Blacks is high and will continue to be so for some time. Blacks will form over 80 per cent of the future labour supply. Female activity rates have been low compared to males but have shown tendencies to increase. Between 1970 and 1985, participation rates increased significantly in the 20 to 34 years age group.

Institutional and legislated discriminatory practices have resulted in segmentation along racial lines with White females occupying jobs requiring a higher level of skills and Blacks occupying lower skilled jobs.

With the abolition of influx control and the removal of racially restrictive legislation, Black urbanization will create pressures in the urban areas. However, with the moves towards resolving the political impasse and the promise of better and equal educational facilities, better occupational opportunities and improved child care facilities, the quantity and quality of female labour supply will improve, with many of the disadvantages disappearing. This will be further enhanced by affirmative action.

The expected fertility reductions will result in an older population, especially among the three non-Black groups. The number of people who will attain school-going age will remain fairly constant and the annual number of people who can be expected to join the labour force will double from 0,78 to 1,55 million between the years 1990 to 2030. This increase will be greater among Blacks.

It has been predicted that high vacancy rates will exist in the professional, semi-professional and technical occupations. Women who have suitable qualifications would be ideal to fill this gap. Although in the past high levels of manpower was primarily supplied by Whites, in future with the gradual removal of remaining restrictions, Asian and Black women will become an important source of high level manpower. Women are an integral part of the labour force and need to be recognised as such. There is a need to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and to improve their status. Employers should take cognizance of the biological contribution of women, modify working hours, provide access to training opportunities and encourage fair promotion procedures.

It is not possible to measure the effects of dramatic deviations in economic growth or of change in political and constitutional structures. Even the impact of the abolishment of job reservation and influx control and of deregulation is difficult to access. Nevertheless it can be

accepted that the process of urbanisation and the expansion of educational services are two factors that may greatly influence the structure of manpower supply in future (Terreblanche, Jacobs and Beukes, 1988: 125-143).

No great structural changes in the population composition are expected in the immediate future although it can be accepted that Black urbanisation, the implementation of family planning programmes and a general rise in standards of living will effect a change in the geographic distribution of the labour force. Any change in the geographical distribution will have implications for the new approach to regional development.

A factor that is equally difficult to evaluate is the possibility of change in migration trends. If greater internal stability can be achieved and if sanctions were to be discontinued, an increase in the supply of high-level manpower can be expected. It is not possible, however, to determine the extent of this increase.

Finally, we can conclude that female labour potential provides a vast reservoir of labour supply for South Africa. The foregoing analysis of the changing nature of female labour indicates that the quantity and quality of female labour entering the labour market will benefit the economy provided education and training are maintained at a high level.

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